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The church, its ministry and
worship

Daniel H. Povey



THE CHURCH,

ITS

MINISTRY AND WORSHIP;

BEING

A REPLY

TO THE RECENT WORK OF REV. MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, A. M.,
ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

BY M. LA RUE P. THOMPSON,

PASTOR OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF BUFFALO, N. Y.

He that is first in his own cause seemeth just; but his neighbor cometh and
searcheth him.—Prov. viii : 17.

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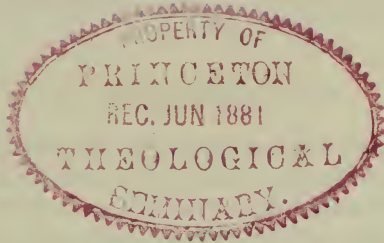
BUFFALO, N. Y.

To the members of the several Presbyterian churches and congregations in the city of Buffalo, and to all others who love the primitive and apostolic simplicity of Christian order and worship, the following pages are respectfully dedicated by

Their sincere friend,

THE AUTHOR.

BUFFALO, May, 1851.



THE CHURCH, ITS MINISTRY AND WORSHIP.

THE general character and design of this volume may be understood from the title page. It is necessary only to remark, that by "the church" is not meant the Episcopal church, nor the Presbyterian church, nor any church of a sect, but *the church of Christ*. The term is used in its general and catholic sense.

It has been the author's aim, in opposition to the erroneous statements and incorrect reasonings of the book which he reviews, to present and defend the true scripture doctrine concerning "the church, its ministry and worship." He trusts that nothing will be found upon his pages unbecoming the serious and important theme which he has in hand. Toward the gentleman who occupies the position of an opponent, he entertains no other feelings than those of kindness, and would deeply regret the cause, whatever it might be, that should serve to interrupt the pleasant neighborly intercourse with him, which he has hitherto enjoyed. He can truly say that no offense was taken at the freedom of that gentleman's strictures on his sermon, and he feels confident that none will be given by the exercise of a similar freedom in return.

Some apology is due for the *size* of this book. Nothing of the kind was intended by the author when he began to write.

The two most common excuses for all wrong doing may be most truthfully urged by him. He did n't mean it, and could n't help it. It can easily be understood how an error may be stated in few words, which will require pages to be written for its adequate refutation. Besides, to make a small book on a great theme, demands an amount of leisure, which, those who are familiar with the author's circumstances, well know he could not command.

He offers his work to the public with diffidence, as the result of hurried labor, under the pressure of many more important duties, persuaded, nevertheless, that it will be found not wholly unworthy of that careful perusal which he bespeaks for it.

It is proper to add, by way of explanation to those who looked for the appearance of this volume at an earlier date, that it was substantially written, and ready for the press, eight months ago; and would have been issued at that time but for the infirm state of the author's health, which interrupted all his labors, and for a large portion of the winter rendered it necessary for him to seek recovery at a distance from his city and home.

AN UNJUST ACCUSATION.

Mr. Schuyler says, in his preface, that the lectures of which his book is mainly composed, were called forth by my sermon on the office of a bishop, "in which a most reckless attack was made upon Episcopacy, with an abundance of bold assertions, advanced with all the confidence of argument." In regard to what is intimated in the latter part of this sentence, it is supposed that the readers of the sermon are fully capable of forming their own opinions. But I am charged with having made "a most reckless attack upon Episcopacy." It seems to be implied by this, that the controversial aspect of my sermon was unprovoked. An uninformed person would surely imagine from the manner in which the charge is brought, that in the

midst of profound peace, with nothing going before to justify me, I had suddenly broken forth in a violent assault upon the Episcopal church. Was it really so? Did my accuser quite forget the book on "The Three Reformations," edited by the Reverend Dr. Shelton, and published just previous to the delivery of my sermon, with a preface full of the worst kind of Episcopal assumptions, and the most insulting insinuations against all other bodies of professing christians?

I have no fondness for controversy; and never, I trust, shall be found recklessly provoking it. I challenge all who know me, to say if I am disposed to be quarrelsome. Nothing would be so grateful to my feelings, as to be in actual and visible fraternal concord with all good men. My soul longs for the establishment of a true and loving brotherhood among all those who, under different sectional names, profess the common faith and common hope of the Gospel; and in all the glorious future revealed in the promises of God to his people, my eye sees nothing that more affects and delights my heart. No prayer do I offer more fervently, than for the speedy coming of that day, which is destined to witness, not the abolition of sects, but of sectarian jealousies and strifes, and the honest, warm-hearted, whole-hearted co-operation of all Christ's friends in extending and establishing his kingdom.

"A most reckless attack upon Episcopacy!" Look at it. Here is a sect styling itself "*the church*," arrogating all the rights and prerogatives of the church of God on earth, with the exception of that degree of participation with itself to which it admits the Romish and Greek churches, denouncing all besides as heretics and schismatics, without church, ministry, or sacraments; teaching this in its formularies, and proclaiming it ceaselessly from its pulpits and its presses; and when a word is spoken by one of another sect against such assumptions, it is "a most reckless attack upon Episcopacy!"

A Presbyterian minister, at a Presbyterian ordination, in a Presbyterian pulpit, to a Presbyterian congregation, preaches a

sermon to show the true scriptural character of a Presbyterian bishop, and lo! it is "a most reckless attack upon Episcopacy!"

That sermon is printed, and the occasion is taken for reviewing, in an appendix, a recent Episcopal publication, in which are exhibited all the conceit and arrogations of "*the church*," so called, a publication edited and prefaced by his next door Episcopal neighbor, and, horror of horrors! innocence is at the stake again; it is "a most reckless attack upon Episcopacy!"

Will my friend gain sympathy for himself or for his cause, by such an attempt to fasten an odious charge on me? It ill becomes our brethren of that denomination, in any circumstances, to talk of being attacked. In the present instance the charge is especially unfortunate.

SOMETHING AMUSING.

It is amusing to observe the wondrous air of meekness, and of inoffensive, child-like amiability, assumed by our Episcopal friends, and the appearance of deep surprise which they occasionally exhibit, that any one should feel himself injured or aggrieved by what they say and do. See a beautiful example of this at the opening of our author's introductory discourse, on the seventh page.

"Surrounded as we are at the present day, with such a variety of contending sects, all claiming to form part of Christ's body, which is his church, and differing, as we know we do from them, in many important particulars, it becomes us to see to it that *we* are built upon 'the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.' As to the nature or validity of the claims which others may present for such a foundation, we do not design to speak: 'to their own master they stand or fall.' We have not undertaken this subject in a spirit of controversy, and, in dependence on divine grace, have determined, while we shall

fearlessly advocate what we hold to be divine truth, to say nothing which, rightly understood and received, can give just cause of offense to those who differ from us. At the same time, I would take this occasion to remark, that I shall not hold myself responsible for inferences, which others may be pleased draw from the positions I shall attempt to establish."

"*As to the nature and validity of the claims which others may present for such a foundation we do not design to speak.*" Oh no, not a word; but we intend to show that every inch and hair's-breadth of that foundation is fully occupied by ourselves! We intend to make such an exhibition of our own exclusive possession of that ground, as shall convince all who attend to us, that whatever claims others may *present* to be upon it, their feet are really dangling in the air! We have determined to say nothing disrespectful of them, or of their pretensions. If they think they have a right to call themselves churches of Christ, and their ministers, ministers of Christ, and their sacraments, ordinances of Christ, we shall not *say* that they are deceived, nor shall we *say* that they are impostors for claiming such things before the world; we shall barely show, in the exercise of all christian kindness, that *our church is the only true church of Christ that there is in the world, and its ministry the only ministry, and its sacraments the only sacraments; and* "WE SHALL NOT HOLD OURSELVES ACCOUNTABLE FOR THE INFERENCES WHICH OTHERS MAY BE PLEASED TO DRAW!!!"

"We have not undertaken this subject," says our author, "in a spirit of controversy, and, in dependence on divine grace, have determined to say nothing, which *rightly understood and received*, can give just cause of offense to those who differ from us." It is to be regretted that he did not tell us, *how* we are to understand and receive these exclusive assumptions of his church, so as not to find in them just cause of offense.

We are not offended with our Episcopal friends for *differing* from us. We are not offended with them for being *Episcopalians*.

If it suits them, they may be in all respects precisely what they are, abating the miserable folly and impertinence of those pretensions, by which they seek to injure and degrade others, and we will engage that their tender sensibilities shall never be wounded again by "a reckless attack" from us. Let them adopt the moderate views so ably stated and defended by archbishop Whately, in his "Kingdom of Christ"—let them come down from their high stilts, and consent to tread the common earth with their brethren, and we pledge ourselves that they shall never be molested. We will say to them as Abram said to Lot, "Let there be no strife I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdsmen and thy herdsmen, for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me; if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left." We will not consent to be trod upon, nor to yield to them exclusive possession of God's footstool. So long as they attempt the former, or claim the latter, we shall feel constrained to show them that the attempt is disagreeable to us, and the claim fanatical and foolish. Their innocence of any design to give offense will not protect them. When we feel the sharp ends of their stilts trampling us, or their elbows jostling us, we shall certainly begin to *draw inferences* unfavorable to the kindness of their intentions, whether they *say* any thing or not; and if they do not "*hold themselves accountable for the inferences which we draw*," we, at least, shall hold them so. They may rely upon it, such treatment will not be so "*understood and received*," as not to be construed into "*just cause of offense*."

THE CHURCH—ITS MINISTRY AND WORSHIP.

This is the title upon the back of Mr. Schuyler's book, which, when we examine farther, we find to be equivalent in his mind, with the *Protestant Episcopal church*, its ministry and worship. Such is the doctrine. The Protestant Episcopal church is THE CHURCH, at least, so far as all protestantdom is concerned.

Now the question arises, whether, in this, "just cause of offense" is afforded to other protestant christians. Suppose that a small body of citizens among us, associated for political purposes, should put forth, in a book entitled "The State, its Officers and Institutions," a labored argument to show that *they* are the state, that they alone have the constitutional right to rule in the state, and to administer its institutions. My mind may be singularly obtuse, but it does seem to me, that other citizens would find it extremely difficult to avoid *drawing the inference* that something very like an *assault* was intended upon certain rights and privileges of their own. I can not but think, if the general expression assumed any other form than that of simple derision, that we should hear loud and earnest voices of protestation; nor should I be surprised, if some very severe things were said about the presumption and arrogance of the men who were found setting up these haughty and supercilious claims.

Such is precisely the attitude which our Episcopal friends are taking in the midst of us, and for this, and this only, we complain of them. We claim to have the same interest in *the church*, and the same rights in it, with themselves, and it would be the merest pusillanimity in us, to sit still and allow them to propagate their doctrine without impediment.

Let it not be said, when we oppose these excscinding and arrogant pretensions of Episcopalians, that we are opposing the Episcopal church. Let the Episcopal church live and flourish. Our prayer to God is, that he will build it up in faith,

and love, and humility, and every grace, and preserve it a faithful and holy church, to the honor of Christ as long as the world stands; for we believe that its idiosyncracies are suited to the idiosyncracies of a great multitude of minds; and that it is adapted to do much good which never could be done by any other existing agency. But let not the Episcopal church claim to be *the church*, to the exclusion of other churches as sound in the faith, as pure in practice, and as devoted to the honor and glory of God as herself. This is *false doctrine*, which we feel impelled, not only by the instincts of self-preservation, but by a high and solemn sense of *duty*, to resist.

MR. SCHUYLER'S POSITION.

For the exact position taken by our author, the reader may be referred to a passage occurring on page eighth, in his introductory lecture. He says,

“We shall discuss our claim to be the church founded by Christ and his apostles, as an independent question; simply endeavoring to prove that the church, as episcopally constituted, is after the apostolic model, and that thus constituted, we have received it, by a regular line of succession, from the apostles themselves.”

That which is here proposed for discussion is, “our claim to be THE CHURCH,” &c., &c. This looks like a very simple proposition, and the ordinary reader would, of course, suppose that an attempt is about to be made to prove that the *Episcopal church*, as it exists in this country, and in Great Britain, and wherever else it has been established, is “THE CHURCH, founded by Christ and his apostles,” comprehensive of every thing that belongs to the church of Christ on earth, and exclusive of every thing besides which bears the name of a church. But this, evidently, is not our author's meaning; for when he comes to his argument, on page thirty-five, the form of his statement

is changed, and his readers are invited to an examination of "*our own* claims to be a *true branch* of the apostolic church." It can not, therefore, be of the Episcopal church that he is speaking on page eighth, for surely he would not be guilty of so great a solecism as to call a *branch* of the church, *the church*. A branch of the church, can no more be *the church*, than a branch of a tree can be the tree, or a branch of a river, the river. What then does he mean, when he proposes to discuss "*OUR* claim to be *THE CHURCH*?" &c., &c. *Whose* claim will he discuss? Who are *WE*? He says, "we shall discuss *our* claim to be the church founded by Christ and his apostles, as an independent question, simply endeavoring to prove that the church, as *episcopally constituted*, is after the apostolic model, and that thus constituted, *we* have received it in a regular line of succession from the apostles themselves." It is evident that *we* are all those who belong to churches *episcopally constituted*, and which claim to have *the regular line of succession from the apostles*. Now the only churches episcopally constituted, and blessed, according to our author's view, with this regular line of succession, are, besides his own, the Roman Catholic and the Greek. I must give him credit for speaking intelligently, and using language in accordance with his own theory. I am bound therefore to conclude, that when he announces for his thesis, "*OUR* claim to *THE CHURCH*," &c., he means *the claim of us prelatists, of us Episcopalians, and Roman Catholics, and Greek christians*. I know, that in his book, he says nothing directly of the other branches of the church; for, although he promises to discuss "*OUR* claim to be *THE CHURCH*," yet when he comes to his work, the proposition is curtailed of its large dimensions, and we have simply, "*our own* claims to be a *true branch*," &c. Instead of being a defense of "the church," his book turns out to be a defense, merely, of the Episcopal branch of it; *i. e.* directly a defense of the Episcopal branch; though, in fact, seeing that it is an independent question in regard to churches episcopally

constituted, a defense of the whole; because it is on the same episcopal constitution, and regular apostolical succession, so claimed, that the whole depends.

If Mr. S. should say that I misrepresent him, I would like to have him inform us in what particular. If I do not understand him, the fault is his own. He should have written with more perspicuity. But I *do* understand him, and I do *not* misrepresent him. He means just what I say, that "**THE CHURCH**" is composed of all those particular churches which have the *episcopal constitution*, and the so-called *regular succession in a line of bishops from the apostles*, and that the Episcopal church is a *true branch*, by virtue of its possessing these two grand qualifications. "**OUR** claim to be **THE CHURCH**" which he proposes to discuss, is not "our claim" as Episcopalians, but "our claim," in common with Roman Catholics, and Greek christians, as prelatists, having the true succession, as is maintained, from the apostles. Every thing in the question which he raises, is made to turn upon the *episcopal constitution*, and the so-called *apostolical succession*. Soundness in "the faith once delivered to the saints," is nothing. Purity of christian morals, whether in theory or in practice, is nothing. The Greek church, with its downright heathenism, and the Roman Catholic church, with its mere shade, *perhaps*, of superiority, are veritable branches of the church of God; while the Baptist, and Methodist, and Presbyterian, and other non-prelatical churches, with all their apostolic doctrine and spirit and labors, are mere societies of misguided men, wholly unowned, and unauthorized of Heaven. Mr. Schuyler *believes* this! *Do you believe it*, my dear brother? I can hardly persuade myself that you are really in earnest. At least, I must think that your honest, and I have no doubt, truly pious *heart* often whispers its incredulity. To me, it is something strange and monstrous.—Mr. Schuyler, however, *believes* it. At any rate, it is part of his *high-church creed*, which he feels bound to assert and to maintain. If neither his reason, nor his piety revolts, I

wonder that his pride does not; for he needs not me to tell him that these pretensions of his church, are utterly repudiated by those into whose society she is so anxious to insinuate herself. Both these old harlots turn the back upon her. I can only say, she is welcome to such company if she likes it; and above all, she is welcome to the deep disgrace of seeking to thrust herself into company that does not like her, and that makes itself merry at her ambitious aspirations.

Our author's actual proposition is two-fold, as follows:

THE CHURCH *is known by two grand and essential characteristics,—an episcopal constitution, and a true succession, in a regular line of bishops, from the apostles.*

The Episcopal church is a true branch of THE CHURCH, because, in common with the Greek and Roman Catholic churches, it bears these essential marks.

We intend, in due course, to examine the arguments with which he seeks to establish this position. Something, however, is first to be said on another subject.

THE INVISIBLE CHURCH.

Our author, in opening the way to his main subject, makes a bold push at the notion of *an invisible church*, and endeavors to prove that the church can have no existence save a visible one, with visible forms, and a visible organization; and that no one can be properly said to be of the church, or to have any share in the blessings promised thereto, who is not found within that visible pale. If it is his belief that all members of "*the church*" will be finally saved, and that none else will be, then I can see a reason for his zeal on this point, but not otherwise; for I am not aware that the idea of an invisible church is in any way incompatible with that of a visible church, even of a *true* visible church, as opposed to all other visible organizations claiming to be churches, or branches of the church.

We do not deny that Christ and his apostles organized a visible church, as our author has very fairly and fully shown from our standards. We do not deny that there is a visible church in existence at the present time, and a *true* visible church as opposed to false ones. We only deny that the true visible church exists under one name and without visible distinctions; and in this does not he agree with us? Does not the *true* visible church, according to himself, consist of three different branches, so separate, that for the most part, they wholly disown each other, with distinct names, and distinct organizations? In fact, the only difference between us on this subject, is, that *he* makes the true visible church consist of those churches which, whatever their moral condition, and the state of christian doctrine in them may be, *have an episcopal constitution, and the alledged apostolical succession in an unbroken line of bishops*; while *we* make it consist of those churches which *maintain the essential features of apostolic faith and practice*. He pleads for a visible church *perpetuated by succession from the apostles, in an unbroken line of bishops*; we for a visible church, *perpetuated by succession from the apostles in the spirit and truth and power of the Gospel which they preached*. We yield to none, in respect and reverence for the external, visible church of God. Still, we believe with Paul, Rom. ii: 28, 29, that "He is not a Jew which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit and not in the letter, whose praise is not of men, but of God." We believe that the visible church has in its bosom many who are really not Christ's disciples; and that there may be men, out of the bosom of the visible church, who, nevertheless, are truly and sincerely disciples of the Saviour, and will be owned as such in the great day of account; for we say still with the apostle, Rom. ii: 26, 27, "If the uncircumcision keep the righteousness of the law, shall not his uncircumcision be counted for circumcision? and shall not uncircumcision,

which is by nature, if it fulfill the law, judge thee, who by the letter and circumcision dost transgress the law?" As it was not circumcision of the flesh, but of the *heart*, that under a former dispensation, made a man truly a member of the church, so, upon the same principle, it is not the outward washing of water now, but the inward renewing of the Holy Ghost, the washing of regeneration, that makes a man a true member of the church of God. Our idea, therefore, is, that the visible church does not truly express the church which is *Christ's body*, spoken of in Col. i: 18, "And he is the head of the body, the church." We believe that the church represented by outward organizations and forms, is only the *apparent*, and not the *real* church spoken of where we read, Eph. v: 25-27, that "Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it, with the washing of water, by the word; that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing: but that it should be holy and without blemish." The church, as we regard it, and we have never thought that we held novel or peculiar views, consists *visibly* of all those who *profess* to believe in Christ, and conform outwardly to his requirements: *really* it consists of all those who *do* believe in Christ, and who yield a true spiritual obedience to his commands. We are compelled to believe in an invisible church, because the marks of the true "church which is Christ's body," which he loved, and gave himself to redeem, and which his veracity is pledged to glorify, are *invisible marks*.

These views Mr. Schuyler is pleased to stigmatize as *new*, and to represent as belonging exclusively to *us*. He says, page twelve: "But with the great majority of those who differ from us, at the present day, a new doctrine is in vogue, and we are told of an 'invisible church'—'that the true church does only consist of such men as have a title to God's favor, by their faith and other christian virtues,' " &c. If being found in the *New Testament* makes this doctrine new, then it is so. That it

is exclusively ours, is certainly a *new* idea. I might quote any number of Episcopal authors, and the very best of them, who express exactly the views which we hold. A single quotation I will indulge in, from an author, whose high-church episcopacy will not be called in question; I mean archdeacon Manning, of Chichester, England. I have before me a volume of his sermons, printed in London, in 1844, dedicated "To the Right Reverend Father in God, George, Lord Bishop of New Jersey," that is to say, to *bishop Doane*. In the sermon entitled, "*God's Kingdom invisible*," page 182, he says, in connection with more to the same effect: "As we may partake of the water of baptism, or the bread and wine of the holy eucharist, and yet have no part in the saving grace they bear to man, so may we partake of the holy catholic church, which to the eyes of faith is visible in all lands under heaven, and yet have no fellowship with the saints of Christ, seen or unseen—with *that mystical body of Christ, which is the company of all faithful people—with the church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven*." Add to this another passage found in the sermon, entitled, "*The waiting of the invisible church*;" on page 346—"We must wait, and not be weary; we must bear all the fretfulness and provocation of earthly tempers and false tongues for a little season. Meanwhile, the perpetual worship of our unseen Master, and the communion of hidden saints, and the fellowship of the invisible church, must be our strength and stay." This same archdeacon Manning, according to recent intelligence from England, I regret to say, is among the many who have recently renounced the Episcopal church, and entered the Roman Catholic.

It simply amazes me, that any person who has a tolerable knowledge of the scriptures, should not have discovered in them the distinction which I have expressed. Pray, what is that "*church of the first-born, which is written in heaven*," mentioned in Heb. xi: 23. Is it the church visible, consisting of all the baptized, and of none else? Mr. Manning

says, it is "*the mystical body of Christ, the company of all faithful people.*" So we believe. In the places that have been quoted from Colossians, and Ephesians, not to speak of others, the term "church" can not be understood as referring to a visible, organized body, but must of necessity stand for the body of true spiritual believers, God's really redeemed and sanctified and chosen people.

Mr. S. will admit that the visible church, truly and properly speaking, consists of *all* its visible members. If he makes the condition of actual membership to be sincerity of profession, then, since sincerity is an invisible grace, he loses his point, and the true church, according to himself, becomes invisible. Now, will he maintain that every member of the Episcopal church, to say nothing of the other branches of what he holds to be *the church*, is a real part of *Christ's body*? If Mr. S. believes this, then he believes that every member of the Episcopal church will be saved; for so Paul teaches of all those who belong to this church.—Read the whole of the first chapter of Ephesians.—Does he believe it? Then also, he believes that none *but* members, of what he calls *the church*, *i. e.* the church as a whole, consisting of its three branches, will be saved. Does he believe this?

"Christ loved the church and gave himself for it." Does *the church* here mean the visible body of professing christians; or does it mean the invisible company of true believers?—"that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish." Is it the visible Church that is to be presented thus, composed of all its visible members; or is it "the church, which is Christ's body," composed of those, and only those who are joined to him by faith? If my brother is in doubt as to what "the church" in this place means, let him ask himself, *when*, and *where* the presentation of it by Christ unto himself, of which the text speaks, is to take place. His own reply will undoubtedly be, *in another life*,

and in heaven. Then let him ask again, Who are the men that shall share in the glories and blessedness of that presentation? I am sure he will answer,—*None but the true children of God the Father; none but those that shall be found to "have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb."* These then are *the church*; and is not the church, so regarded, *invisible*? Can any human being tell with certainty of whom it is composed?

I have already written more on this point than it deserves in this discussion. I have done so, out of deference to our author's apparently high sense of its importance. In regard to "the most harassing facts" of his "beloved Diocesan,"—see his introductory lecture, page fifteen,—I have nothing to say. Who is harassed by them, I can not imagine. They are good facts to prove that our Saviour established a visible church, but what bearing they have upon the question of the church invisible, it surpasses my shrewdness to discover; and, with all frankness, I must say the same of my friend's reasonings on this subject. Both he and his bishop seem entirely in the dark as to what is *meant* by the invisible church, and to have aimed their blows at something that was to them invisible indeed. Fortunately, however we may differ in regard to this question of the invisible church, we are perfectly agreed in believing that there is a *visible* church, and it is with *that* that we are at present concerned.

THE MAIN QUESTIONS CONSIDERED.

We could wish that our author had undertaken a logical discussion of the propositions which, not formally, but substantially as we have expressed them, he lays down at the outset. As he has not done so, we must, per force, follow him in the method which he has chosen. His argument is arranged under three heads—*the church*; *the ministry of the church*; and *the apostolical succession of the church*.

THE CHURCH.

Under this head we find almost nothing that seems to demand attention. We see very little to object to, even in the *definition*, on page thirty-six; and if it might be so modified as to convey the idea that the "visible society" which our author says the church is, is not necessarily a simple *unit*, but may exist in several separate and distinct branches, we would not hesitate to receive it as it stands. Nor do we think that he himself would object to such a modification, since he evidently regards the Episcopal church as being only a *branch* of the true church. We think he would hardly be willing to say that the Roman Catholic, and Greek, and Episcopal churches compose literally *one society*; though he certainly believes that the church, *as a whole*, consists of these three. If he will insist upon his definition unmodified, then we have a question or two that we desire to propose to him. He says:

"The Church is a visible society, founded by Christ and his apostles, composed of an unlimited number of members, professing allegiance to Christ as their invisible Head, acknowledging a common faith, set forth in God's holy word, endowed with peculiar, covenanted privileges, and ruled by men deriving their authority from Christ, with power to transmit that authority to others."

"*The church is a visible society.*" Does our author then maintain that the Roman Catholic, and Greek, and Episcopal churches constitute "a visible society?" By a *society*, we understand a union of any number of persons, having a common object in view, and animated in regard to that object, with a common spirit. The ideas are involved, of partnership, and fellowship, and fraternity. By a *visible* society, we understand a society that has a visible bond of union, in which there is visible partnership, and fellowship, and fraternity. Now, we ask, what visible bond of union there is between the three

branches of Mr. Schuyler's church? At what points do they come together and cohere, so as to justify us in calling them *one*? Does not each of them stand as truly by itself as though the others did not exist? And where do we discover the visible signs of partnership, of fellowship, of fraternity, among them? Are they mutually represented in each other's councils and conventions? Do they dismiss members from one to another? Do their ministers exchange pulpits? Do they love one another, and treat one another with affectionate civility and courtesy? In a word, do they stand up before the world as one great brotherhood in Christ? Every one knows how these questions are to be answered. How then do they constitute a visible society?

But if they do not, all together, constitute a visible society, which is the church; if on the contrary, like Jews and Samaritans, they "have no dealings," but mutually despise and anathematize each other, how then, upon Mr. Schuyler's principles? — is Christ divided? Alas, alas! into what a wretched condition has his kingdom fallen, and how mournful are its prospects! Our Saviour himself has taught us that "every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against itself shall not stand." Changing the figure, it may be said that the body of Christ has fallen into hands more injurious than those of his murderers, for they did show it some respect, and "not a bone of him was broken;" but now, we see it actually rent and torn asunder by those who profess to be his worshipers; worse than wounded, literally severed into parts, in the house of his pretended friends.

We also, describing the church, say, that it "is a visible society," consisting of all those particular churches that hold the head, which is Christ, and the truth as it is in him. From this visible society we believe the Romish and Greek churches have separated themselves, by an open apostacy from "the faith once delivered to the saints," and that they are no longer of "the church," but are synagogues of Satan, antichrist, "that

wicked, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming." If Mr. Schuyler shall endeavor to retort upon me, by saying that the evidences of union are not very apparent between the different branches of the church, as I would compose it, I can only admonish him that his endeavor must be a very strenuous one to succeed in showing that there is not enough of real and acknowledged partnership, and fellowship, and fraternity, among the recognized evangelical denominations of christians, to meet the requisite conditions of a visible society. I own that there is less of true christian union among the churches than there ought to be. The lack of it is a cause of sincere and profound grief to all devout and Christ-loving men, but there is still union and sympathy, and a conscious identification and oneness pervading the entire body, however diversified may be its branches, and the names by which they are called. They all acknowledge a common end of toil and effort. They all feel and own that they have a common interest. They can, and do often come together and mingle as churches, in the most delightful fellowship, and they perform toward each other those acts which indicate and imply, that though divided, they are nevertheless one in Christ. If there is an exception to this, it must be said, and we say it with unaffected sorrow, that exception is the Episcopal church. If there is the dreadful sin of schism any where, I know not at whose door it lies, if not at hers. I speak of the Episcopal church, as such. Very many Episcopalians I know, are as untainted with the schismatic spirit of exclusiveness and separatism, as I hope that I myself am. Their hearts beat freely in unison with the heart of the great christian world. They are glad to discover the image of Christ any where, and to acknowledge it, wherever they find it. Not as individual christians merely, but as churches, they are willing to meet and own those whom they recognize as true disciples of their Lord; and they can and do rejoice in their successes, and bid them God speed in their work of saving

souls and building up the kingdom. This however, can not be said of the Episcopal church; and we sincerely mourn that it can not be.

The only further exception that I wish to take against Mr. Schuyler's remarks on the general subject of the church, is simply against the manner in which he has made them,—implying that he is giving expression to sentiments peculiarly Episcopalian. He becomes quite excited, and displays an immense amount of combativeness over points in regard to which I am not aware that there has ever been any dispute between Prelatists and Presbyterians. He waxes exceedingly valiant for the defense of positions, which no body dreams, or ever did dream, of assailing. In his simplicity, did he really think that these views are peculiar to Episcopalians; or did he wish to strengthen his cause in the prejudices of his readers by imputing to us a denial of them?

Immediately after giving his definition of the church, Mr. Schuyler says: "you will observe, my brethren, I have used the term, 'the church,' instead of 'a church,' because it is the only scriptural way of speaking." He then proceeds to show that what he says is really so, and that to say "the church" and not "a church," is the way to speak according to the scriptures. It is implied, of course, that Presbyterians do not speak so, and people are left to draw their own inferences as to how corrupt the Presbyterian theory, in regard to the church, must have become, when they do not even speak the word in a scriptural manner. But is it so? Do not we Presbyterians say "the church?" We always do, except when the grammatical construction of the sentence in which the word occurs, or some other equally important consideration, requires a change in the form of expression. Why Mr. S. should object to saying "a church," when it is *a* church, and not *the* church, of which he is speaking, I can not imagine, especially since he himself has quoted a text in which the expression "a church" is used. That, I should think, would settle forever the propriety of saying "a

church" as often as it is supposed the sense to be expressed requires that mode of speech. We always say "the church" when we have reference to the great universal body of Christ's believing people. For example, we say "God loves *the church*, and will defend it against all its adversaries." We always use the same form of expression when we speak of the entire body of christians within any given limits; as in the following cases: "The church of God in America," or "the church in the Sandwich Islands," or "the church in Buffalo." When I, in my own pulpit, invite a meeting of the members of my own church at any particular time and place, I say, there will be a meeting of "the church," &c., &c.

In such a case as the following, we say, *a church*: "It is a question to be considered whether the Roman Catholics can properly be regarded as constituting *a church* of Christ." The propriety of this, I presume, will not be objected to.

There is still another way of using the word "church." We believe the church as a whole, consists of several distinct branches. When we speak of any particular branch of the church, we deem it important to use a term that shall specify which branch of the church we mean. If it is our own branch that we refer to, we always say, "the Presbyterian church," unless there is something in the immediate connection, or in the circumstances of the time and the occasion, that makes our meaning sufficiently obvious without the use of the specifying adjective. So also, we say, "the Methodist church," "the Baptist church," "the Episcopal church." We think it would be positively incorrect in style, speaking in general terms, to call the Presbyterian church, "the church," to say nothing of the seeming arrogance of such a mode of speech. My brother Schuyler in giving a general definition of the church, could hardly have used a different form of expression from that which he did use; but I know not how he can justify the almost universal practice of himself and his brethren, of calling their own

little branch of the church, in a general term, "the church," as though it were the whole church.

For an example, let me refer the reader to a passage in his preface: "Under these circumstances, the author considered it his duty to improve the opportunity, in using his poor abilities in behalf of *the church*." Now, if he claimed that the English Episcopal church is the only and the entire church, this would certainly be, for him, a proper mode of speaking; but all that he claims for her is, that she is "a true branch of the apostolical church." How, then, is it either correct in style, or decent on other grounds, for him in such a case as this, to call the English Episcopal church "the church?" But enough of this.

Again, in this immediate connection, page thirty-seven, our author says,— "That the church is a visible society, is plainly recognized in the bible. Thus we find such expressions as these," &c. He had previously combatted our idea, as he understands it, of the invisible church, and now he makes the existence of a visible church a proposition, and enters zealously upon the proof of it. Of course the idea is implied that we Presbyterians do not believe in a visible church!

Again, page thirty-eight, — "That the church is not a voluntary society, we have met, in our definition, with the assertion that it was founded by Christ and his apostles and endowed with peculiar covenanted privileges." It is implied, of course, that we Presbyterians do not believe that Christ and his apostles founded or instituted a church, but that we hold the church to be a voluntary society, that is, a society constituted by men, in such form as is pleasing to them, without any special authority from the Saviour, or from those whom he appointed to set in order the things of his kingdom!

One of the most devout of my brother's parishioners, on coming out of his church, at the close of the service at which this lecture was delivered, was heard to say,—indeed, she said it to a member of my own church,— "Only to think, that any

body should pretend that Christ and his apostles left the world without ever forming a church! Isn't it absurd? I do not know how some people read their bibles." She had evidently received the impression from her rector's preaching, that Presbyterians do not believe that Christ and his apostles constituted and left behind them a church! — but, that they just instructed men in the principles of the Gospel, and the general theory of religion, and left them to form churches for themselves according to their various fancies!

Need I say again, that we believe in the external, visible church of God, the church of all ages? Need I say that, as Presbyterians, we believe in the visible church of *the Redeemer*, the church of God reconstructed by Christ and his apostles, destined to stand as long as the world stands? We have no controversy with our Episcopal brethren on this point. Here, as to the great fact involved, they and we are perfectly agreed. Still, as I have already intimated, we do not believe that Christ and his apostles instituted and organized the visible christian church in such a manner as to impress upon it in all its extent, and through all time, a visible external *oneness*. That is, they did not so settle and define all the minutia and details of ecclesiastical form and order, as to forbid the idea that the church might exist in separated parts, separated by minor and unessential differences of faith and practice, yet united in all main respects, and one in spirit and in aims; separated in modes of action, yet united in the "one hope of their calling," having "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in all." For the proof of this, it is quite enough to refer to the fact, apparent to every reader of the bible, that there is no complete and finished order of ecclesiastical form and government there prescribed. The great and essential features of the christian church are clearly and indubitably set forth, so that no man can mistake them, but, farther than this, nothing is determined. Now, if it had been our Lord's intention that his visible church should maintain

through all time, that absolute external oneness for which Roman Catholics contend, and for which Episcopalians *seem* sometimes to be equally earnest, but the principle of which they clearly give up, when they call themselves "a branch of the apostolical church," we maintain that his own instructions, and those of his apostles on this subject, laid down in "the only rule of faith and practice," would have been specific, and definite, and full. We maintain, that the New Testament would have contained as careful, and minute, and perfect a description of the christian church, its ministry and worship, as is found in the Old Testament, of the Jewish church, with its ministry and worship. My readers all know how, under the former dispensation, when it was the divine intention that the church should exist with a visible external oneness, this subject was treated: even to the hem of the priest's garments and the "pots in the Lord's house," specific directions were afforded. We say, that if there had been a similar intention in regard to the christian church, there would have been a similar minuteness of specification concerning every thing that was to belong to it; and from the utter absence of any such minute specification, we infer that there was no such intention.

I will conclude under this head, by quoting from our confession of faith, what expresses substantially the views of all Presbyterians on this subject.

Chap. xxv: Sec. 1. The catholic or universal church, which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect, that have been, are, or shall be gathered into one, under Christ, the head thereof; and is the spouse, the body, the fullness of him that filleth all in all.

Sec. 2. The visible church, which is also catholic or universal under the Gospel, (not confined to one nation as before, under the law,) consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children; and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation.

Sec. 4. This catholic church hath been sometimes more, sometimes less visible; and particular churches, which are members thereof, are more or less pure, according as the doctrine of the Gospel is taught and embraced, ordinances administered, and public worship performed more or less purely in them.

Sec. 5. The purest churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error; and some have so degenerated as to become no churches of Christ, but synagogues of Satan. Nevertheless, there shall be always a church on earth to worship God according to his will.

THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH.

At the bottom of page thirty-eight, and the top of page thirty-nine, our author says, having stated his views on the general subject of the church, "In this church — or over this society, thus visibly separated from the world, and blessed with the promise of peculiar privileges,—the head of the church placed certain officers, with authority to rule and govern it, and with power also to transmit their authority to others."

The proposition thus laid down, he proceeds to argue at considerable length, and tenaciously to defend, as though it were a matter in dispute between us. He quotes from our own church standards, and from our authors, passages which contain his own doctrine, and glories over his quotations as if he had obtained concessions from an enemy. In spite of all Presbyterian authorities, with which he seems not to be unfamiliar, he will have it, that as we do not believe in a divinely constituted church, so neither do we believe in a divinely appointed ministry.

The Presbyterian belief on the subject now introduced, is truly expressed by the quotation which Mr. Schuyler makes from our confession of faith. I give the quotation with explanatory

parentheses: "The Lord Jesus Christ, as King and Head of his church, hath therein appointed a government, in the hands of church officers, distinct from the civil magistrate. To these officers the keys of the kingdom of heaven (that is, of the church,) are committed, by virtue whereof, they have power respectively to retain and remit sins, (that is, to pronounce the unchangeable conditions on which God will retain or remit sins,) to shut that kingdom (that is, the church) against the impenitent, both by the word, and by censures; and to open it unto penitent sinners, by the ministry of the Gospel, and by absolution from censures, as occasion shall require."—Confession of Faith, chapter xxx.

I may also quote on the same point, from chapter xxv. of the confession of faith, section 3: "Unto this catholic visible church, Christ hath given the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God, for the gathering and perfecting of the saints, in this life, to the end of the world: and doth by his own presence and spirit, according to his promise, make them effectual thereunto."

We then do believe, just as really as Episcopalians, that "the head of the church hath placed in the church certain officers with authority to rule and govern it." This is no peculiar doctrine of theirs, but is our doctrine also.

Neither is it a peculiar doctrine of theirs, that the officers whom Christ placed in the church, besides the authority which they had to rule and govern it, had the "power also to transmit their authority to others."

The Presbyterian belief in regard to the manner of succeeding to the christian ministry, I can not better state than in the words of Dr. McLeod and of Dr. Mason, as also quoted in substance by our author. Dr. McLeod says:

"A person who is not ordained to office by a Presbytery, has no right to be received as a minister of Christ: his administration of ordinances is invalid: no divine blessing is promised upon his labors: it is rebellion against the head of the

church to support him in his pretensions: Christ has excluded him in his providence from admission through the ordinary door, and if he has no evidence of miraculous power to testify his extraordinary mission, he is an impostor."

What value is to be attached to Mr. Schuyler's comparison of this, with the Episcopal doctrine concerning the indispensable necessity of the imposition of a prelate bishop's hands to give validity to an ordination, as indicating equal "illiberality," "bigotry," and "uncharitableness," may be easily ascertained by inquiring what the word "presbytery" means. Mr. Schuyler either ignorantly thinks, or else artfully designs, that his readers shall think, that by "a presbytery" in the place quoted, is meant the particular judicatory of the Presbyterian church which bears that name, and to which, according to the constitution of our church, the power of ordination among us belongs. Thus he either thinks, or would have others think, that Dr. McLeod denied the validity of all ordinations out of the Presbyterian church, whether occurring among Episcopalians or Baptists, or Methodists, or whomsoever. Now the truth is, that by "a presbytery" Dr. McLeod meant only a plurality of presbyters, of duly ordained ministers, of whatever christian denomination; so that he neither denied, nor intended to deny, the validity of ordinations in other churches, where two or more ministers concur in the act. We certainly do allow the validity of episcopal ordinations, not however, because of any authority in the bishop as such, but because we recognize him as a presbyter, and as constituting, with the presbyters who unite with him in laying on hands upon the candidate, a lawful presbytery.

We entirely approve of Dr. McLeod's statement, and I do not know the Presbyterian who would object to it. There is a regular and orderly way appointed by the head of the church for coming into the christian ministry — by presbyterial ordination, i. e. by the ordaining act of two or more previously-ordained christian ministers. This is the door, and "He that entereth not by the door, but climbeth up some other way, the same is

a thief and a robber. But he that entereth in by the door, is the shepherd of the sheep."

The quotations from Dr. Mason, which we also give as expressive of our own sentiments, and of the sentiments of Presbyterians generally, are as follows:

"It is undeniable that from the time God set up his church in her organized form, until the christian dispensation, there was an order of men consecrated by his own appointment, to the exclusive work of directing her worship, and presiding over her interests; insomuch, that no one, but one of themselves, not even a crowned head, might meddle with their functions, nor undertake in any way, to be a teacher of religion, without an immediate call from heaven, attested by miraculous evidence." Again, "Our Lord Jesus delivered their commission to his apostles, in terms which necessarily implied a PERPETUAL and REGULARLY SUCCESSIVE MINISTRY."

Not regarding the danger of being charged with some degree of egotism, I will even quote from myself, in a sermon which I preached and published several years ago. Not having a printed copy of that sermon at hand, I must be allowed to quote from a manuscript, which I am quite sure differs in no important respect from the printed copy.

The sermon was founded on 2 Cor. v: 20, and the points discussed, were—the authority, the dignity, and the business of the ministerial office. In regard to the authority of the ministerial office, I said,

"It rests on a divine commission. God 'hath committed unto *us* the word of reconciliation. Now then *we* are ambassadors for Christ;' we, not you; not any and every man who may choose to arrogate to himself the functions of this high office, but we, to whom it has been committed of God. It may be observed then, that there is a class of men in the world, exclusively authorised to preach the gospel. It will not be questioned that the text, in its connection, does teach, that this exclusive authority was given to Paul and his associates. 'The

word of reconciliation' in the commencement of the new dispensation, was committed to them, and not to others. They were, in a peculiar manner, called and consecrated thereto, so that whether regarded as a privilege or a duty, the work of the ministry appertained to them, in distinction from all others then living in the world.

"But these first ministers of Christ were to have successors in the ministry. In their official character, they were never to die. This sufficiently appears from the last charge, with the accompanying promise, which they received from the Saviour just previous to his ascension: 'Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and lo! I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.' This charge and promise could not have terminated on them personally. They were evidently addressed in their official character, as representing a long line of successors in the same office, which was to be perpetuated to the end of time. The language is not intelligible on any other supposition. There is then, of course, now in the world, a class of men holding the same exclusive commission which was given to the first apostles."

In commenting on the last quotation from Dr. Mason, Mr. Schuyler says, page forty-six, "No assertion can be more clear or decisive as to the absolute necessity of the apostolic succession to the valid exercise of ministerial authority." Let our brother now lay it up in his memory, so that it shall never slip, that we Presbyterians do believe in an apostolical succession. We do not believe in the apostolical succession of the Episcopal, or Greek, or Romish churches, in an unbroken line of prelatie bishops, but we believe in the true succession from the apostles of all true ministers of Christ. We believe in "a perpetual and regularly successive ministry," the line of which, in the christian church, began with the apostles.

"The question now comes up," says our author, and he states it so fairly, that I am quite willing he should state it for us

both —“The question now comes up, who are the successors of the apostles; and who, therefore, are duly empowered to confer the ministerial commission? The determination of this question rests upon the decision of the issue between two systems, episcopacy, and parity, or the presbyterian ministry; and by presbyterian, we mean all those who hold to but one order in the ministry.

“The advocates of episcopacy declare that there are three orders in the ministry, styled, since the days of the apostles, bishops, priests, and deacons, of whom the highest grade, or bishops alone, have the power to ordain. The advocates of parity, or equality in the ministry, declare that there is but one order, and that all in this order have equal rights.

“Let us then,” proceeds our author, “bring the question of parity or imparity, equality or inequality, in the orders of the ministry, to the test of scripture.”

It is to the test of scripture, that we Presbyterians delight, above all things, to bring this debated question. We do not refuse to discuss it before any other tribunal. When our opponents appeal from scripture to the fathers, we are most happy to go with them to the fathers. When they appeal again to general history, we are just as ready to meet them there. But we have always felt that this is a question which the scriptures, and the scriptures alone, are fully competent to decide. We acknowledge no other “rule of faith and practice” but them; and, therefore, the word with us, always has been—“to the law and to the testimony.” Mr. Schuyler and myself are now to meet each other in the court of scripture. Will he abide the decision of the court?

The determination, he says, of the question, “who are the successors of the apostles? rests upon the decision of the issue between two systems, episcopacy and parity.”

The question first to be considered, then, relates to the general subject of the ministry. Does it consist, by divine appointment, of three orders, called bishops, priests, and deacons, with the

authority to ordain ministers, vested solely in the first, or is it of one order, commonly, in the scriptures, called presbyters, or bishops, all of whom are equal in authority?

FIRST SCRIPTURAL ARGUMENT FOR EPISCOPACY

THREE ORDERS IN THE AARONIC PRIESTHOOD.

The argument is thus stated by our author, on page forty-seven: "As the law given by Moses was a shadow of good things to come, typifying the gospel dispensation, the constitution of the Aaronic priesthood, would justify the presumption, at least, that the christian ministry would be after this pattern. We find in the Jewish church three distinct orders of ministers—the high priest, the priest, and Levite. This fact, therefore, might reasonably lead us to expect the like number of grades in the ministry of the christian church."

The fact, of course, is admitted, that the Jewish priesthood was of three orders. The question, therefore, is, whether this fact furnishes, as our author supposes it does, any ground of presumption in favor of a similar arrangement for the ministry of the christian church. The ground of presumption, according to his statement, and his statement is like that of all Episcopal writers, lies in the typical character of the Mosaic system, and the assumed conclusion that the Jewish priesthood was typical of the christian ministry.

In regard to the typical character of the Jewish system there is no dispute. We are expressly told, that "the law had a shadow of good things to come." But the assumed conclusion of Episcopalians, that the Jewish priesthood was typical of the christian ministry, is without foundation, and contrary both to the facts in the case, and to scripture.

The important facts in the case are two: First, The Jewish priesthood did not *resemble* any existing ministry of any so-called

christian church. If it was a type, or foreshadowing, as is claimed, of the christian ministry, it has failed. It will not of course be pretended, that the ministry of the Romish church with its grades many, consisting of I know not what all, sub-deacons, deacons, priests, bishops, cardinals, and a pope, was typified by the Jewish priesthood. For a similar reason, it will not be pretended that the ministry of the Greek church was typified by that of the Jewish. How stands the case with the Episcopal church in England, with its earthly head seated upon the throne, and its primate, its archbishops, its bishops, its priests, its archdeacons, its deacons, etc., etc.? It may be said, however, that the actual grades of the ministry in the church of England are only three, and that all above bishops, are still mere bishops, appointed to the discharge, not of higher ministerial duties, but of higher governmental functions. Take, then, the Episcopal church as it exists in this country, with its three simple orders, of bishops, priests, and deacons. Now suppose the shadow of this ministry to be cast back into the ancient times of Jewry, and there let us search for it. We find the clear shadows of many things that we recognise as actual substances of our own more happy dispensation, and at first, we may almost imagine that we see the shadow of this threefold ministry in the ministry of the Jewish church. The many Levites may pass for the shadow of the many deacons; the many Jewish priests may pass for the shadow of the many episcopal priests; but here the correspondence ceases; the one high-priest can not be the shadow of the many episcopal bishops. A plurality of substances must have a plurality of shadows. Our first impression, therefore, was not well founded; and the Jewish priesthood is not the shadow of the episcopal christian ministry. I grant, that a shadow is a very different thing from a substance; and we are not to expect a perfect correspondence in all things; we are not to expect that it will be ponderable, for example; but we are nevertheless to expect a correspondence, such as that which shadows always bear to the

substances which cast them. It is claimed, in order to get the ground of presumption of which our author speaks, that the Jewish high priest was a type or shadow of the order of bishops in the christian church. We reply that the resemblance is not adequate to sustain the claim. *One* could not be the type or shadow of many. No, our opponents may say, we do not claim that; but simply that the *tripartite form* of the Jewish priesthood was a type or shadow of the *tripartite form* of the christian ministry. That is, they claim, not that the one ministry was a type of the other, but that a mere accident, or quality of the one, was the type of a mere accident or quality of the other. This is absurd, for if the one ministry was not itself the type of the other, by what right, or by what suggestion even, do they look in it for typical accidents or qualities? They might as well, in such a case, infer the tripartite form of the christian ministry from the triune existence of God, or from the threefold nature of any subject whatever.

The second important fact to be considered, showing that the Jewish priesthood could not have been a type of the christian ministry, is the entire unlikeness of the business or work of one, to that of the other. The Jewish priesthood ministered at the altar of sacrifice; their ministry consisted in offering sacrifices and burnt offerings unto God, for themselves and for the people. That they preached, we never read. Their whole work, in what was properly the ministry of religion, had respect more or less directly to the offering of sacrifices. The Levites were subordinate assistants of the priests in this work; and to the high priest, who had the supreme administration of sacred things, appertained the duty, above all, of entering once a year into the most holy place "to make atonement for himself, and for his household, and for all the congregation of Israel."

The business of the christian ministry is epitomized in the command "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." And again; "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the

Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you."

Now it is quite enough to submit the question to any unbiassed mind, whether such a ministry as that which existed in the Jewish church, could be typical of that which exists in the church of Christ? To say nothing of the want of resemblance in other respects, there is none whatever in the business of the one to the business of the other. So far as this is concerned, it might just as well be said, that the Jewish king, with his chief ministers and next subordinate officers in the government, were typical of the christian ministry.

But the scriptures settle this question, by distinctly apprising us that the Jewish priesthood was typical of Christ, not as to its grades and threefold character, but as to its work. This question on scriptural grounds is settled definitely by the following passage: Heb. x: 1-7, "For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can never with those sacrifices which they offered, year by year, continually, make the comers thereunto perfect. For then would they not have ceased to be offered? because that the worshipers once purged should have had no more conscience of sins. But in those sacrifices there is a remembrance again made of sins every year. For it is not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins. Wherefore when he, (*i. e.* Christ,) cometh into the world, he saith, sacrifices and offerings thou wouldst not, but a body hast thou prepared me. In burnt offerings and sacrifices for sins thou hast had no pleasure. Then said I, lo, I come (in the volume of the book, it is written of me) to do thy will, O God."

If it is said, that this teaches that the *sacrifices* offered under the former dispensation were typical of Christ, I reply—no; the sacrifices offered under the former dispensation were typical of Christ's *body*. "When he, that is, Christ, cometh into the world, he saith, sacrifices and offerings thou wouldst not, but a *body* hast thou prepared me." The body of Christ which

he offered upon the cross was the antitype of bulls and goats offered under the law, whose blood could never take away sins. Christ himself was the priest, the offerer, and *he* was the antitype of the ancient *offerer* of bulls and goats. If it is insisted that the ancient sacrifices were typical of Christ himself, the third person in the Godhead, in his work of redemption, then we still affirm that the offerers of those ancient sacrifices were typical also of him; for, if himself was the offering, himself also was the priestly offerer. — See Heb. vii: 27 — “Who needeth not daily, as those high priests, to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and then for the people’s; for this he did once, when *he offered up himself.*”

If it shall be said that only the *high priest* was a type of Christ, then, in that case, we ask what becomes of the ancient type of episcopal bishops? It may possibly be said, with some show of reason, that the high priest was the especial type of Christ’s *person*; but as to his *work*, it must still be admitted that the whole Jewish priesthood, whose business it was to offer sacrifices, was typical of him; and typical of none but him, unless you adopt the absurdities of the Romish church respecting the sacrifice of the mass.

Other scriptures, besides those which I have quoted, might be adduced, equally in point, to show that in the person and work of Jesus Christ, the whole antitype is found of the priesthood in the Mosaic system, but it is needless.

Now what becomes of Mr. Schuyler’s ground of presumption;—of his basis in the Jewish priesthood, of a reasonable expectation that there should be three grades or ranks in the ministry of the christian church? The Jewish priesthood was not typical, or figurative, in any sense, of the christian ministry. Nothing, therefore, respecting the latter, can be inferred from the former.

With Jesus Christ, who hath obtained “an unchangeable priesthood,” being “a priest forever after the order of Melchisedek,” the entire order of an earthly priesthood has passed

away. Priests, the work of whose office was to offer sacrifices, there are no more; — save him who with his “one sacrifice of himself,” “offered once for all,” is “entered not into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true; but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us.” The ministry in the church of God now, is another thing. In this dispensation of the gospel, it is a ministry, not of blood, but of “the word of reconciliation,”— a ministry of grace and salvation to dying men, by *preaching*, by proclaiming to them the glorious messages of divine love and mercy through the cross. What has this ministry to do with the ministry of the law of Moses?

I have deemed it necessary to be somewhat full in my reply to this argument; not because the argument is really important, or because intelligent Episcopalians lay much stress upon it, but because it is in a high degree sophistical and specious, and has great weight with ordinary minds.

THE SECOND SCRIPTURAL ARGUMENT FOR EPISCOPACY.

THE CONSECRATION OF CHRIST, AND HIS ORDINATION OF THE TWELVE AND OF THE SEVENTY.

Mr. Schuyler having stated his ground of presumption for three orders in the christian ministry, which we have shown to be no ground of presumption, thus proceeds, page forty-seven:

“This fact, therefore, might reasonably lead us to expect the like number of grades in the ministry of the christian church. Hence, we find, in looking into the gospel history, that such was the case. After our Saviour had arrived at the proper age, according to the Jewish law, to enter upon the duties of the ministry, we have the record of his visible consecration to this holy office. Immediately after his baptism, he is anointed by the Holy Ghost; while the eternal father acknowledges his

authority, saying, "This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased."

Passing by, for the present, a quotation here introduced from archbishop Potter, I proceed, giving the words of our author —

"Here then, we have the history of the inauguration of our blessed Saviour into the office of his earthly ministry, by a visible consecration, attested by a voice from heaven. In the order of the narrative, after this solemn consecration, and after he had been prepared, as man, by fasting, and by forty days of temptation in the wilderness, to enter upon his ministry and to lay the foundation of his spiritual kingdom, we are told, 'He chose twelve disciples,' and after a whole night spent upon the mountain in prayer, 'He ordained twelve that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach.' And here we would remark, that on two other distinct occasions, the ministerial powers of the apostles were enlarged by the Saviour, thus taking them up step by step. And sometime after this, we read, our Lord appointed seventy disciples, and sent them forth to preach and prepare the way for himself and the apostles.

"Here then we have, while our blessed Lord was upon earth, three distinct orders in the ministry. The Great High Priest of our profession, the twelve apostles, and the seventy disciples. I know it is confidently asked in this stage of the church's history,"— Dr. Thompson's sermon, page sixteen—"will you find here any traces of a prelatic order exercising authority over two other orders?" What — I would ask in return,—was the office which our Lord himself held? Was it not that of a prelatic or preferred order, exercising authority over the twelve apostles, and the seventy disciples? Have we not, by the one question, satisfactorily answered the other?"

Perhaps, my dear brother, you have by the one question answered the other, satisfactorily to your mind; but to my mind, and I will venture to say to the minds of your thoughtful readers without an exception, you have not answered the other

question at all. To my question, "Will you find here any trace of a prelatie order, exercising authority over two other orders?" you reply, "What, I would ask in return, was the office which our Lord himself held? was it not that of a prelatie, or preferred order?" &c., &c. You affirm, then, that Christ was a *minister*, in that sense of the word which it bears in our present discussion! You affirm that Christ held "the office — of a prelatie, or preferred order," in the ministry of his own church! What proof have you given of this? None at all, except your narration of his baptism, and the solemn testimony, on that occasion, of the voice from heaven, saying, "This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased,"— which you call his "inauguration into the office of his earthly ministry, by a visible consecration." You assume that "the office of his earthly ministry" was the ordinary office of a minister in his own church. Let me refer you, for instruction, and I am inclined to add, reproof, to your own quotation on this very point, from archbishop Potter. The archbishop says, referring to the same baptismal scene—" *This was a solemn inauguration to his office*; for the more full understanding whereof, it may be remembered, that under the Jewish economy, the kings, priests, and prophets were inaugurated to their several offices by unction, and when the person appointed to succeed in any of these offices, had no approved right to it by lineal descent, or otherwise, his designation was commonly declared by some of the prophets: as appears from the examples of Saul, David, Jehu, Aaron, and Elisha. Answerable to this custom, our blessed Saviour's *designation to his mediatorial office, in which all the three forementioned offices of king, priest, and prophet are contained*, was not only attested by John the Baptist, the greatest of all the prophets, but by the voice of God himself, speaking from heaven."

What, then, according to archbishop Potter, your own authority, was the office to which Christ was consecrated by baptism? You say, it was to "the office of a prelatie order" in

the ministry of his own church. The archbishop says, it was "to his mediatorial office." Are the two offices identical? Now the archbishop was right. Christ was formally consecrated by baptism and the voice from heaven to his great work as atoning priest and saviour of his people. He was visibly assuming that "unchangeable priesthood," which was shadowed forth in the priesthood of the Jewish economy, and it became him for the fulfillment of all righteousness to be set apart thereto by august rites and ceremonies; therefore he came to John, who was commissioned of God to bear witness of him, and was baptized.

That same office into which Christ was formally inaugurated at his baptism, he sustains now. If it was "the office of a prelatie order" in the ministry of his own church, then he sustains now "the office of a prelatie order" in the ministry of his own church; and he whom we are taught to regard as "head over all things to the church," is a *minister in it*. Then, also, unless bishops are Christ's equals, in the ministry of the church, — for it is a doctrine of our opponents, that all bishops are equal in the grade of their ministry, — there are four instead of three orders of ministers in the church.

Sir, I must admonish you that in your zeal to find, at this point of gospel history, "traces of a prelatie order," you are taking fearful liberties with the character and official work of *him* whom I know you venerate, not as a minister in the church of which you also are a minister, but as its head and Lord; and that, instead of confirming your argument, you are disturbing its very foundations.

My brother's argument, which I am now considering, proceeds upon the bare assumption of two other facts. First, he assumes that the christian church had an existence at the time when the events referred to in his argument transpired. Now, if it could be proved that at this time the church of the new dispensation had not yet begun to exist, then of course, not only was Christ no minister in it, but neither were the twelve or the seventy ministers in it, and there is no argument whatever, save

a mere presumptive one, of the same general character with that which has already been disposed of, to be constructed from the comparative dignity of the three parties referred to, be it what it might be. Mr. Schuyler himself says in a note, in which, indeed, he gives up the whole argument as worthless, — “we conceive it, however, to be a matter of minor importance, whether the distinction of the three orders is as clearly marked here, as in the subsequent history. *The church was evidently (if I may use the expression) in a transition state, and was not fully organized until sometime after this.*” The church in a transition state! What kind of a state was that? In one sense the church of God has always been in a transition state, and will always be, until it shall become “a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing;” but in no other sense can I conceive of it as being in a transition state. The christian church either existed, or it did not, at the time when our Lord called and ordained the twelve and the seventy. If it did not exist, then, in the state of things at that time, nothing can be gathered to indicate what its character was to be; much less can the facts of that time be reasoned about as if they appertained to the very church itself and characterized it. The new dispensation, it is supposed by some, began when the vail of the temple was rent at the crucifixion of our Lord, when he cried out “It is finished, and bowed his head and gave up the ghost.” Others suppose it began at his resurrection; and others, at the giving of the spirit on the day of Pentecost. Whenever the new dispensation began, then the Jewish church ceased to be a church, and the church of the Redeemer commenced its existence. Now it was important, certainly, if Mr. Schuyler would make use of facts existing at an earlier date than either of the dates which I have mentioned, as characterizing the christian church, that he should at least show us that the christian church was in being at that time.

The other fact, essential to my brother’s argument, (upon which indeed, like that of Christ’s being a minister, holding

“the office of a prelatie order,” his argument is founded,) which he has assumed without proof, is, that the seventy, in the office which our Lord assigned to them preparatory to the introduction of his kingdom, and the setting up of his church, were inferior to the twelve. That the twelve were designed, ultimately, to occupy a peculiar and superior position; that the Saviour intended to employ them, when his kingdom should be set up, in an office of peculiar and eminent importance and dignity, no one, I presume, feels any inclination to deny. Hence, he appointed them to be “with him,” to be, as it were, members of his own family, that he might instruct them, and in various ways train them for that future service which they were destined to perform, and that they might be witnesses to the world after his death, of what he said, and did, and suffered. But, as to their grade of office prior to the setting up of the kingdom, at the time when in *this argument*, Mr. Schuyler finds his three separate and distinct orders, and subsequently,—what evidence is there, that it was superior to that of the seventy? The fact of their being chosen first, proves nothing; for that would go just as far to prove graduation of rank among themselves, according to the order, in time, of their several callings. The fact that they were appointed to be, as a general thing, *with Christ*, and attendants on his person, proves nothing; for we see another and a sufficient reason for that arrangement.

Mr. Schuyler seems to think, and this is his entire argument, that the superiority of the twelve is indicated, first, by some peculiar solemnity in our Lord’s manner in connection with their call and ordination; and secondly, by the fact that he is said to have *ordained* them, while it is only said that he *appointed* the seventy. In regard to the first of these considerations, it was not so unusual a thing for Christ to spend whole nights in prayer, that we must necessarily conclude, when he did so, that it was preparatory to some remarkable transaction in which he was about to be engaged. If Christ did spend a whole night in prayer just previous to ordaining the twelve,

who knows that his prayerfulness had special relation to that event? Our author mentions in this same connection, the "fasting, and forty days of temptation in the wilderness," as though this had some preparatory reference to the call and ordaining of the twelve. It had doubtless just the same preparatory reference to these acts that it had to all the other acts of his public ministry — not ministry in the church, in the office of a prelate order — no more and no less.

In regard to Mr. Schuyler's second argument, which with a singular force of brevity, he expresses by capitalizing the word "ORDAIN," I have only to say, that if he will compare the Greek word from which this word *ordain* is translated, with that which is rendered "appointed" in the account of the seventy, he will find that the argument amounts to nothing. That word "ordain" is full of expression to my brother's mind. The Greek word is *epoiese*, from *poieo*, which, according to the best lexicographers, means "to make, to constitute, to appoint, as to some office, to declare to be," etc., etc. The Greek work rendered "appointed," is "*anedeixen*" from "*ana-deiknumi*," which, the best lexicographers say, means "to manifest, to show plainly or openly, to mark out, to constitute, to appoint by some outward sign," etc., etc.

Neither of these words is the one commonly used to express the act of ordination to the christian ministry. For examples: Tit. i: 5—"That thou shouldst ordain (*katasteses*) elders in every city." Again; Acts xiv: 23—"When they had ordained (*cheirotoneantes*) them elders in every church," etc.

I will give now the positive proof that the twelve and the seventy, in that peculiar ministry to which they were called and ordained, (for the seventy were just as truly *ordained* as the twelve,) were *equal*. The proof which I have to adduce, is of no doubtful character; it does not depend upon an imaginary meaning of certain words, nor upon any fanciful construction put upon portions of the gospel history; but upon plain and undeniable matters of fact, touching the very heart of the

question in debate. Every person can see that the proper and only proper way to settle such a question as this, is to examine the commissions of these two sets of ministers, if so they may be called, to see what they were appointed to do, and with what powers they were invested. If we find that their commissions were the same, their work the same, their authority and power the same, then it is preposterous to say that they were unequal in their offices.

In the first place, then, let it be remembered, that both the twelve and the seventy were called and ordained to their work by Christ himself.—Compare Mark iii: 14, “And he ordained (*i. e.* appointed) twelve that they should be with him, and that he might send them forth to preach,” with Luke x: 1, “After these things, the Lord appointed (*i. e.* ordained) other seventy also.”

Both the twelve and the seventy were sent forth to preach.—Matt. x: 5, 7, “These twelve Jesus sent forth, and commanded them, saying,” * * * “as ye go, preach.” Compare this with the whole account in the first seventeen verses of the tenth chapter of Luke.

Both the twelve and the seventy were sent forth two by two.—Mark vi: 7, “And he called unto him the twelve, and began to send them forth two by two.” Luke x: 1,—“The Lord appointed other seventy also, and sent them two by two before his face.”

They were sent into the same dangers.—Matt. x: 16, Christ said to the twelve, “Behold I send you forth as sheep among wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves.” To the seventy, Christ said, Luke x: 3,—“Go your ways; behold I send you forth as lambs among wolves.”

The twelve and the seventy were commissioned to preach the same thing. To the former, the Lord said, Matt. x: 7, “And as ye go, preach, saying, the kingdom of heaven is at hand.” To the latter he said,—Luke x: 9,—“And say unto them, the kingdom of heaven is come nigh unto you.”

Both the twelve and the seventy were empowered to work miracles.—Matt. x: 8. To the twelve Christ said, “Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils: freely ye have received, freely give.” Compare Luke x: 17, 19,—“And the seventy returned again with joy, saying, Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through thy name.” “Behold I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy, and nothing shall by any means hurt you.”

They were both sent forth by the authority, and in the name of Christ.—Matt. x: 40. To the twelve Christ said, “He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me.” Compare Luke x: 16,—To the seventy Christ said, “he that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me: and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.”

Now in what respect do the seventy appear to have been inferior to the twelve? In not a solitary particular can a difference be shown. Their ministries were precisely identical. Says Whitby, an eminent Episcopalian commentator, vol. i, page 334, “Some compare the bishops to the apostles, the seventy to the presbyters of the church, and thence conclude, the divers orders in the ministry were instituted by Christ himself. It must be granted that some of the ancients did believe these two to be divers orders, and that those of the seventy were inferior to the order of the apostles, and sometimes they make the comparison here mentioned. But then it must be also granted, that this comparison will not strictly hold; for the seventy received not their commission, as presbyters do, from bishops, but immediately from the Lord Christ, as well as the apostles, and in their first mission *were plainly sent on the same errand, and with the same power.*”

“The fact is,” says Rev. W. D. Killen, in the ‘Plea for Presbytery,’ “the commission given at this time both to the twelve and the seventy, was temporary. They were sent out for a

limited time, and for the special purpose of preparing the way for the personal ministry of our Lord. A new commission was given to the twelve after Christ's resurrection from the dead — more extensive powers were bestowed, and a wider field of labor was assigned to them. All the information we have regarding the seventy, is contained in the tenth chapter of the gospel of Luke. After they returned to their Lord on this occasion, we do not read of them again in the New Testament, nor do we hear that their temporary commission was ever renewed."

Now I claim that this second argument from scripture in favor of episcopacy, is refuted. There is no foundation for it. It is a mere imagination of prelacy-hunters, that makes three orders of the christian ministry out of our Lord, the twelve, and the seventy. The christian ministry had as yet no existence, for there was no christian church. If there had been, it is absurd, and almost impious, to make Christ himself, whose the church is, and whose the ministry is, a minister in it; to assign to him "the office of a prelatic order." And there is no pretext for the claim, whatever may have been the nature of their offices, that the seventy were inferior to the twelve.

So far as there is any argument at all bearing on the general subject we are now discussing, in the state of things which existed previous to our Lord's death, it is in our favor, and directly against our opponents. The Lord Jesus Christ was here upon the earth preparing the way for the introduction of his kingdom, the setting up of "his church." In this preparatory work he employed a certain number of ministers, who, upon the minutest inspection, appear to have been appointed to identically the same work, and to have been clothed with identically the same powers. They were therefore *equal*. Among the ministers employed by our Lord in this preparatory stage of his proceedings, the principle of *parity* obtained. We may conclude, therefore, so far as we may conclude at all from this, that it was his design, that in his kingdom, which is his church, there should be but one grade of ministers.

THE THIRD SCRIPTURAL ARGUMENT FOR EPISCOPACY.

A SECOND ORDER IN THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY CONSTITUTED
BY THE APPOINTMENT OF DEACONS.

Our author states his argument, on page fifty, as follows: "Let us now see, whether, after Christ's ascension to heaven, and when the apostles were left, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to carry out the instructions of their divine master as to his earthly kingdom, they continued these three orders in the church."—Let it be borne in mind by the reader, that no christian church had been in existence until the time to which this argument introduces us, and consequently, that there could have been no orders in the christian ministry. Besides, we have shown that the ministers whom Christ had employed in the work preparatory to the setting up of his church were all equal. Our author continues—"In the sixth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, after the day of Pentecost, and when the number of believers had greatly increased, we have an account of the first ordination which they held. Now, this is a transaction which we would not have you carelessly to pass over. After directing their brethren to choose seven men among them of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, to serve in the office of deacons in the church, the sacred historian declares, 'They chose Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and Philip, and Prochorus, and Nicanor, and Timon, and Parmenas, and Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch; whom they set before the apostles: and when they had prayed, they laid hands on them.' Now, in answer to the objection that is sometimes made, that this was not an ordination to the *ministry*, these men having been simply chosen to serve tables, we would ask, why the *care* to choose men full of the *Holy Ghost*, and of *wisdom*, to act in the capacity of *mere table stewards*? But the subsequent history proves, beyond all

controversy, that these men were ordained for a higher and holier purpose. Immediately after this account, we find Stephen, one of the deacons, boldly *preaching* the faith, and suffering martyrdom in this blessed work. And in the eighth chapter of Acts, it is recorded, that Philip, another of the deacons, went down to the city of Samaria, and preached Christ unto them; and that 'when they believed Philip, preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were *baptized*, both men and women;' and also, that having preached Jesus to the Ethiopian eunuch, he *baptized him*. What better proof can we need, that these deacons were ministers? Are laymen authorized to *baptize* and *preach*? If so, what is the distinction between the minister and the layman?—and what need is there of any ordination? Here, then, we have *two* orders in the ministry; and this, of *itself*, destroys the claims of parity?"

So my brother leaps to his conclusion. Who constitute the two orders in the ministry, which he has now so fortunately discovered? Why, the apostles and the deacons. But has he proved yet that the apostles, as such, constituted an order in the permanent ministry of the christian church? Has he not run a long way before his story? He should have remembered, when he wrote this lecture, that he was not writing simply for his own people, who would be likely to sympathize in his enthusiasm, but for the world, and for us Presbyterians particularly, who deny that the apostles, as such, were, in any sense, an order in that ministry which it was intended the church should permanently enjoy. Whatever he may have proved, therefore, for himself, and for Episcopalians, he must see, that in a controversy with us, even though it were admitted that the deacons were true ministers in the proper sense of that word, he has utterly lost his labor, and proved nothing.

But has he proved his point in regard to the deacons? Has he proved that they were ordained to the christian ministry? The question in regard to the apostles, belongs to another place,

and will be treated in its order. The question now relates to the deacons solely.

Mr. Schuyler's arguments, for the ministerial character of the deacons, are two.

First. The qualifications which were necessary for the office: they were to be men full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom. He puts the argument in this way—"Why the care to choose men full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, to act in the capacity of mere table stewards?" It is necessary here to notice the occasion on which the office of deacon, in the christian church, was instituted, and the purpose for which it was designed. The account is at the beginning of the sixth chapter of Acts, and is as follows: "In those days when the number of the disciples was multiplied, there arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministrations. Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples unto them, and said, It is not reason that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables, wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business. But we will give ourselves continually to prayer and to the ministry of the word. And the saying pleased the whole multitude; and they chose Stephen, a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and Philip, and Prochorus, and Nicanor, and Timon, and Parmenas, and Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch."

Now, to our brother's argument, in the first place, we reply, that in the writings of the apostles, the expression, "a man full of the Holy Ghost," means nothing more, or less, than a man eminent for piety; and it was necessary that men known to be of eminent piety should be chosen for this work of presiding over and distributing the charities of the church, in order that there might be a security for their faithful discharge of the duties entrusted to them; and that the people, who had already grown distrustful of the impartiality of the apostles themselves, might repose confidence in them.

In the next place, it was necessary that they should be men full of wisdom; because the duties entrusted to them were, as every one sees, extremely delicate in their nature, and difficult to be properly performed. A murmuring had already arisen; difficulties and dissensions were already springing up in the infant church, in consequence of a supposed unfairness in the distribution of the alms. Owing to the peculiar circumstances of the time, the poor were very numerous, and there were among them all classes of persons, belonging to different nations, and remarkably liable on that account to be jealous of each other, and particularly, where such interests were concerned as those over which the deacons were appointed to preside. What could be more important, therefore, than that, besides being eminent for piety, the deacons should be also men of great wisdom?

Childish as this argument of my brother is, I have chosen to treat it with respect, and to answer it fully. It is evident that the qualifications of being full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, were essential qualifications for the secular duties of the deaconship. Mr. Schuyler aims at undervaluing those duties, by contemptuously italicising the phrase, "*mere table stewards.*" This is a poor trick, and I do not fear that any will be imposed upon by it. The business of the deacons is briefly called "serving tables," because their duties mainly consisted, after determining who were the proper persons to share in the charities of the church, in making daily distribution of food for their tables.

The second argument to show that the deacons, as such, were invested with a true ministerial character, is the fact that two of them, in the course of the gospel history, are afterward found performing ministerial duties. Stephen is found preaching, and suffering martyrdom for his fidelity as a preacher, and Philip is found preaching and baptizing.

Now it is to be observed, that the mere circumstance of a man's preaching, is no positive evidence that he had been ordained to the christian ministry.— See Acts, xi: 19–21,

“Now they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, traveled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word to none but unto Jews only. And some of them were men of Cyprus and Cyrene, which when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Grecians, preaching the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them, and a great number believed and turned unto the Lord.” Were all these, and those men of Cyprus and Cyrene, ordained christian ministers? The same thing is mentioned also in Acts viii: 4, 5 —“Therefore they that were scattered abroad, went everywhere preaching the word. And Philip went down to the city of Samaria, and preached Christ unto them!” Were all these that were scattered abroad, ordained ministers?—I ask again. They all preached, they all proclaimed, wherever they went, the doctrines of the gospel, and called upon their fellow sinners to repent and believe in Christ; but that they were all *ministers*, in our sense of that word, no reasonable man will suppose for a moment, much less venture to affirm.

The argument, then, from the case of Stephen is disposed of. Now for that from the case of Philip, who not only preached, but *baptized*,—which, we are willing to admit, was an act that could not properly be performed by a layman. The question which we raise here is this: May not Philip, subsequently to his receiving the deaconship, and before the events recorded in the eighth chapter of Acts incident upon his journey to Samaria, have been specially ordained to the ministerial office? May he not have laid aside his diaconate for higher and holier duties? That Philip had ceased to be a deacon, and had assumed another office at a later period, is actually upon record; for in Acts xxi: 8, he is distinctly mentioned as an *evangelist*. Now, who will affirm that this change in his condition had not taken place previously to his baptism of the eunuch? Will it be said, that if this had happened, there would have been some notice of it? I reply, the fact is undeniable, that he was at

some time ordained to a higher office than the deaconship; but where is any notice to be found of that event? It had occurred at some point of time during the course of twenty-six years, and who can say that it was not during the *first two* of those years?

Now I take the ground absolutely, that Philip had been ordained to the office of the gospel ministry priorly to his visit to Samaria. If he had not been, then we have a clear instance, not only of lay-preaching, but of lay-baptism also; for it is demonstrable, that his ordination to the deaconship *left him nothing but a layman*.

First. It can not be shown that there is any thing absurd or improbable in the supposition which I make. It is clear that at this early period Philip possessed the proper qualifications for the ministerial office; and, at a time when suitable persons to become ministers were undoubtedly few, it is only reasonable to suppose that such a man as he would early attract the attention of the apostles, and be chosen by them to a more dignified and important office than that of serving tables.

Second. I ask attention to the simple facts in the case. Let the reader recur again to the narrative of the ordination of Philip and others to the deaconship, which has been quoted already, from the beginning of the sixth chapter of Acts, and see for himself, what the true nature and purpose of that ordination were. The facts are there all put before him, and they are as plain and intelligible as any facts could be. The apostles were pressed with the vast multitude of duties and avocations which devolved upon them, and when "there arose a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministrations," they called the multitude of the disciples together, and said, "It is not reason that we should *leave the word of God*, to serve tables, wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, *whom we may appoint over this business*." The seven men were found, and when they were "set before the apostles," they, *i. e.*, the apostles,

“prayed,” and “laid hands on them.” So they were ordained to the deaconship; or in other words, they were “appointed *over this business*” of serving tables, or of attending to the wants and interests of the poor. Be it observed, there is not the most distant allusion to their being ordained to assist the apostles in preaching, or in performing any whatever of the functions of the ministerial office; but simply to their being set over this business of serving tables, that the apostles might not be compelled to “leave the word of God,” and that they might give themselves “continually to prayer and to the ministry of the word.”

Now our Episcopal brethren say, that this was an ordination to the christian ministry! I feel nothing more strongly than amazement, at such an unfounded and unpalliated pretension. The duties of the deaconship were secular, and nothing but secular, and the deacons, as such, were no more ministers, in the sense of our present discussion, than the trustees of modern congregations, to whom is intrusted the care of ordinary temporalities, are ministers. They were office-bearers in the church, but not ministers of the gospel.

If it is asked, why then were the deacons ordained with so much solemn formality? I reply,—that the apostles saw fit to do so, probably, to inspire them with a higher sense of the responsibility of their office, and to inspire the people with higher respect for them as office-bearers. After their example, it is the practice in Presbyterian churches, to ordain deacons in the same manner, to an office precisely similar.

Now then, if Philip’s ordination to the deaconship was not an ordination to the ministry,—and every one must own that it was not,—and afterward we find him exercising the functions of the ministry, we are bound to conclude that he had received in the mean time, another and a higher ordination, though no account be given us of it. There is no other conclusion possible, unless it be that in some cases both lay-preaching and lay-baptism were practised in the early church.

Mr. Schuyler's third scriptural argument for Episcopacy then, is set aside. I trust my readers are capable of seeing that it has been set aside fairly and fully: first, by showing that so far as the apostles are concerned, it proceeds upon a mere assumption that they, *as apostles*, constituted an order in the permanent christian ministry — a proposition which our author should have known is utterly denied by us; and secondly, by showing that the deaconship was not a ministerial, but purely a lay office.

On this subject of the deaconship it will be convenient to say something under the next head.

THE FOURTH SCRIPTURAL ARGUMENT FOR EPISCOPACY.

THE THREE-FOLD MINISTRY COMPLETED, BY THE DISCOVERY OF ANOTHER ORDER, CALLED PRESBYTERS.

No one can give Mr. Schuyler's arguments like himself; it is due to him, therefore, that he should have the advantage of his own statement. He says as follows, page fifty-two:

"The first mention we find of the order of elders or presbyters (as they mean the same thing, being derived from the same Greek word,) is in the eleventh chapter of Acts, where the brethren at Antioch, in sending relief to the people of Judea, are spoken of as sending it by the hands of Barnabas and Saul to the *elders*. And in the fourteenth chapter it is mentioned that St. Paul and Barnabas, revisiting the churches which they had founded, ordained them elders in every church. Now, clearly, these elders were neither apostles nor deacons; but, that these elders were ministers, is plainly shown in the charge of St. Paul, at Miletus, to those whom he had called from Ephesus: 'Take heed therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.' These, it is contended by the advocates of parity, or of but one

order in the ministry, are the only bishops which the scriptures recognize; and that no higher authority was committed to any other office in the ministry than to them? But this is a strangely inconsistent assertion when we have *one* minister, St. Paul, the apostle, calling them all together and instructing them, and, as we shall shortly see, placing another *over* them — Timothy — with a charge which clearly implies higher authority in him, than any which he now recognizes in them. Here, then, as we have shown, we have the three orders *after* Christ's ascension, viz., *apostles, presbyters, and deacons.*"

I confess that I find a difficulty in maintaining that degree of gravity which should characterize so grave a discussion as the present, when I am compelled to reply to such reasoning — if I may call it reasoning — as the above; but since I am committed to it, I will even go through, and say what I have to say with the seriousness to which my subject is entitled. I remember that Mr. Schuyler's brethren in this city, whom I respect, as I do indeed himself also, in any other position than the one he has been permitted to take in this discussion, have said in their commendatory letter which accompanies his book, that his "*truths*," (I applaud their forbearance on other points,) are "*unanswerable.*" I shall try, then, to get at Mr. Schuyler's *truths*.

The truths contained in the above extract, which we acknowledge, and do not wish to answer, are the following:

First. That we find no mention of elders in the New Testament, earlier than that made in Acts xi: 30, where it is said, that Barnabas and Saul were commissioned by the christians in Antioch, to convey their charities for the poor brethren in Judea, to the hands of the *elders* there.

Second. That these elders were neither apostles nor deacons.

Third. That these elders were ministers.

These truths are of importance. This mission of Barnabas and Saul to Judea, was not far from a year after the dispersion that took place on account of the persecution that arose about

Stephen, at which time Philip went down to Samaria. These elders, Mr. Schuyler owns, were ministers, and he owns too, that we have no previous account of them. There had then, as a clear *matter of fact*, at this early day, been ordinations to the ministry, and very numerous ordinations, of which no mention is made in the history. I bring out this fact for the obvious purpose of showing more fully, that there is nothing unreasonable in my supposition, that Philip had been ordained an elder. There is, in truth, no avoiding the conclusion that he had been. Put together the fact, that his deaconship, which is to be judged of solely by the account given of it at the time that office was instituted, was a purely secular office, not embracing a solitary function of the ministry; that, at a subsequent time he is found exercising *another* office, that of the ministry itself; and that numerous ordinations to the ministry were constantly taking place, of which no account whatever is furnished in the sacred narrative, and you have proof, which any reasonable mind must regard as amounting to demonstration, that Philip was one of those, who, without record of the fact, had received ministerial ordination. And here, though this point has been sufficiently argued before, let me distinctly notify the reader, that the entire whole of the Episcopal argument from scripture, for the ministerial character of the deacons, rests on the facts that, after their ordination to this office Stephen preached, and Philip preached and baptized. If, in the unbiassed and sober judgment of any man, their argument is not absolutely worthless, I know not what an argument needs to be void of, to make it worthless. If they say that additional argument is found in the directions concerning deacons, that they should “be grave, not double-tongued, not given to much wine, not greedy of filthy lucre, holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience;” that they should be proved and found blameless before they are put into office, and that they must “be the husbands of one wife”—*i. e.* of *but* one—and rule “their children and their own houses well”—if, I say, they claim that there is additional

argument in all this, then I affirm that they alone have eyes to discover it. These are all proper qualifications doubtless for the ministry, but they are proper and important qualifications also for the office of the deaconship, according to the view of that office which is held by us. It is absurd to say, that from such directions concerning deacons, their ministerial character may be inferred. These very directions we Presbyterians have always aimed to follow in our selection of men to fill the deacon's office in our churches.

We see, then, the kind of evidence from the scriptures, on which rests one entire order of the ministry in the Episcopal system. To say that it is insufficient, that it is no evidence at all, is a work of simple supererogation.

But now for the *episcopal truth* in this last passage from Mr. Schuyler, which, it is said, is unanswerable. It is found in the closing sentence, based upon a discovery that there was, at the time to which our discussion now relates, a class of ministers in the church comprehended under the general designation of elders.—Says our author, “Here then, as we have shown, we have the three orders *after* Christ's ascension, viz., *apostles, presbyters, and deacons.*”

“*As we have shown.*”—Where, my dear brother? We have been looking with all the intentness of which we are capable, to see, if we could, something that you had made out, something that you had established, and we have looked in vain. We have had “abundance of bold assertion advanced with all the confidence of argument,” but as for *proof*, of *any thing*, we have not yet been fortunate enough to find it. “*As we have shown!*” What! do you pretend to say that you have *shown* that there were at the time of which we are speaking, three orders in the permanent ministry of the christian church?—and that these three orders were apostles, presbyters, and deacons? Why, sir, you have not yet *touched* the question respecting the apostles; you have not glanced at it. In regard to deacons, if you have *shown* any thing, I do not know it. As to elders,

you have shown by the quotation of a text of scripture that such a class of ministers existed, and that is all that you have shown; and yet, at this point you rest from your herculean labor, and cry, Victory! You have made out your case! you have proved that Episcopacy is the doctrine of the bible; having found in actual existence *after* Christ's ascension, three distinct and separate orders in the ministry of the church — viz., apostles, presbyters, and deacons!

You said a little while ago, "Let us bring the question of parity or imparity, equality or inequality, in the orders of the ministry, to the test of scripture." You had said before, "The question now comes up, Who are successors of the apostles, and who, therefore, are duly empowered to confer the ministerial commission? The determination of this question rests upon the decision of the issue between two systems, episcopacy and parity." You have now brought the question of parity or imparity, to the test of scripture, you have tried this issue, and settled it. That is, you claim now to have proved that the bible teaches episcopacy! Well, I have nothing to say; our readers must decide between us. You are prepared now for the main question, and to this you proceed — *Who are the successors of the apostles, and who therefore have the power to confer the ministerial commission?* You have concluded your argument for imparity in the ministerial office, for three orders, and now you say the question returns, "To which of these three orders was the ordaining power committed?" I must be permitted to say, that if the question which you are now about to answer, does depend on a previous decision of the issue between the two systems of *parity* and *imparity*, you are in a very sad predicament.

I am not yet quite prepared to follow our author in his next advance, having something more to say on the subject of elders.

"These," that is, elders, says Mr. S., page fifty-three, "it is contended by the advocates for parity, or of but one order in the ministry, are the only bishops the scriptures recognize, and

that no higher authority was committed to any other officer in the ministry than to them. But this is a strangely inconsistent assertion, when we have *one minister*, St. Paul, the apostle, calling them altogether, and instructing them."

See, here, my brother's inveterate habit of anticipating his own argument, and of taking for granted what he has not yet proved. Does he not know that we Presbyterians utterly deny that "St. Paul, the apostle," was a minister in the church, *i. e.*, using the word *minister* in the sense of the present discussion, as the title of one holding an office that was designed to be permanent? Paul, *the elder*, was such a minister in the church, — but not Paul, *the apostle*. After he shall have proved that the *apostleship* was intended to be a successive and an abiding office, it will then amount to something to tell us of the authority which apostles exercised over other ministers. Until then, it is not only a waste of words, but it is mere trifling and impertinence.

"It is contended by the advocates for parity, or of but one order in the ministry, that the elders are the only bishops which the scriptures recognize, and that no higher authority was committed to any other officer in the ministry than to them." As to the latter part of this sentence, I have only to say, that it expresses the truth, if our author refers to the *permanent* officers in the ministry; otherwise, not a truth; for we admit, that while the apostolic office continued in the church, the apostles were superior to the elders. For the rest, do not Episcopalians themselves admit that elders are the only bishops which the scriptures recognize? What says our author himself on the very next page, fifty-four — "We readily admit that the name of 'bishop,' which we now appropriate to the highest grade, is used in the bible as importing the same office with 'elder' or 'presbyter.'" He has his own explanation to give for this. But here is the fact. In the New Testament the terms elder or presbyter, and bishop, are used interchangeably to indicate one and only one office; — see my sermon upon this point, — and

it may be added that to no other officers in the church whatever, not even to apostles, is the name "bishop" in a single instance applied. We do indeed claim therefore, that the scriptures recognize no bishops except presbyters; we claim it without contradiction. If other bishops were recognized in the church, in subsequent times, we say simply, it was an unauthorized departure from scriptural usage and established scriptural precedent.

The elders alone, according to the New Testament history, had the immediate oversight and spiritual care of the churches. Thus, in Paul's address to the elders of Ephesus, at Miletus, he said, "Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, (*episcopous*, bishops,) to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." Where is there the record of such language used either to, or concerning any other order of officers in the church? Where is the place in which deacons are so addressed, or even in connection with such duties, spoken of? These are the men, the presbyters, to oversee, to look after, to govern the flock, and to feed the church of God, and these only. These are the bishops whom the *Holy Ghost hath made*, the true bishops, the only bishops, in spite of all human inventions, and devices and makings of men.

The dignity of the presbyterate, or the elder's office, may be inferred from the fact, that the apostles themselves delighted to assert their own right to it, and to be called by its name. If I may for once assume a thing that I have not proved, I will assume here that the apostleship was temporary, and not a permanent office in the christian ministry, and I will give this as a reason why the apostles gloried in the name of elder; for in respect of the permanent nature of the eldership and the temporary nature of the apostleship, the eldership was the nobler and better office of the two. While the apostleship should forever cease with the lives of the men who first held it, the eldership was to be an office in the church till time should be no more,

under which the church should pass through all her vicissitudes, and end at once her triumphs and her toils. Hence the apostles may well have felt that it was an honor to be called *elders*; and we need not wonder that Peter should say, — 1 Peter, v: 1, — “The elders I exhort, who am also an elder;” and that John, in the salutation of two of his epistles, should style himself “the elder.”

Whoever reads attentively the scripture history, and particularly notices the manner in which elders are spoken of, will not fail to notice, that of elders there are two classes, — those who *rule*, and those who, in addition to the exercise of authority, labor also in word and doctrine, familiarly called, in the Presbyterian church, “ruling elders” and “teaching elders;” the former of whom are not ministers in the proper sense of that word, but assistants of the ministers in the spiritual oversight of the churches, — as deacons are assistants of the ministers in looking after the poor, and dispensing the public charities for their relief.

A passage clearly bearing on this point, may be found in 1 Tim. v: 17, — “Let the elders that *rule* well be counted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in word and doctrine.” Here, beyond all reasonable question, are pointed out two classes of office-bearers, exercising separate and distinct functions.

It is intimated in the clearest manner that there are elders who rule, and who rule only; *i. e.*, who administer the laws and discipline of Christ’s house, for the maintenance of good order and purity; and that there is another class of elders joined with the former in the exercise of government, who, in addition to this, preach the gospel and administer the sacraments. Various methods have been attempted for evading the force of this text; but no one, rejecting our view of it, has ever been able to afford a satisfactory answer to the question, Who are intended by the elders that rule well, as distinguished from those that labor in word and doctrine? They can not be ministers who

have ceased to exercise the functions of the ministry, for such do not rule at all. They can not be diocesan bishops, in distinction from the preaching presbyters, — for, besides that there were no such bishops in the apostolic church, this would be to assign higher honor to the presbyters than to the bishops. They can not be ordinary bishops or presbyters, in distinction from evangelists, — for no such diversity as that which the text indicates existed, in the primitive church, between these two classes of ministers. They can not be the deacons, — for no rule whatever in the church was assigned to these officers. If our exposition of the text be not the true one, let another be suggested, if another can be, which will bear the test of criticism.

With the text that has been cited, compare 1 Cor. xii: 28 “God hath set some in the church, first, apostles; secondarily prophets; thirdly, teachers; after that, miracles; then gifts of healing, helps, governments, diversities of tongues.” Although in this passage there is an enumeration of miraculous and extraordinary ministrations in the early church, yet evidently, it must also be considered as specifying, in part, ordinary and permanent office-bearers. Dr. John Dick says, “There are no persons who may be so reasonably supposed to be meant by ‘helps’ as deacons; and thus the word has often been explained. They were instituted for the express purpose of helping the apostles, for the purpose of relieving them from the care of the poor, that they might devote themselves exclusively to the ministry of the word. If helps signify helpers, governments must signify governors, the abstract being put in both cases for the concrete. The question then is, Who were the governors to whom the apostles referred? They were not the apostles, nor the prophets, nor the teachers, because these are mentioned as distinct classes. They were not helpers, because these are mentioned as a distinct class also; and besides, if deacons were intended, they could with no propriety be called governors, for deacons have no rule in the church. There is no other class of persons to whom this title, used as it is in contradistinction to

other office-bearers, will apply, but the ruling elders of Presbyterians; and it is with obvious propriety that they are designated as governors, since the sole business of their office is to govern the congregation over which they are appointed. God has set some governors in the church. He has not lodged the power in the people at large, but has ordained that a few, appointed by the whole, should be invested with authority to take order that the members should walk in the ordinances and commandments of God."

Compare, also, Rom. xii: 6-8, "Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us; whether of prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith; or ministry, let us wait on our ministering; or he that teacheth, on teaching; or he that exhorteth, on exhortation; he that giveth, let him do it with simplicity; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth mercy, with cheerfulness."

I quote again from Dr. Dick.

"It is the opinion of many commentators, that prophesying, which sometimes signifies public teaching by the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and ministry, are general divisions under which the different offices of the church are arranged; that prophesying comprehends teaching and exhorting; and ministry, giving, ruling, and showing mercy. At any rate, it is plain that ruling is distinguished from teaching, exhorting, and giving, or from the peculiar work of the pastor, the doctor, and the deacon. The original term, *proistamenos*, is properly translated, *he that ruleth*, because it evidently denotes one who presides over others with authority. This presidency is attributed to one as his proper business. It is his duty to preside, or to rule, as it is of another to teach, or to give. The apostle is not enumerating the various duties of one individual, but the different duties of different individuals. Who, then, is *he that ruleth*? He is not the deacon, for the deacon does not rule, but gives to the poor; he is not the pastor, for, although the pastor rules, he is here characterized by teaching, or exhorting, which is peculiar to him.

He that rules must, therefore, be a person whose whole duty consists in ruling; or, in other words, an elder, according to the views of Presbyterians. Some tell us, that his rule is over his family; but this is nothing to the purpose, and is a shift to get rid of a difficulty, because the apostle is obviously speaking of the church. Others say, that he rules over the church stock; but they confound him with the deacon, who gives; and besides, in this sense, the expression would be indefinite and improper; there being nothing to determine the kind of rule to which the apostle refers; and surely, it will not be supposed that a deacon was held in such estimation in primitive times as to be called *proistamenos* — *he that rules* — by way of eminence. There is another mode of evading the argument, by saying that the apostle is not speaking of offices and office-bearers, but of gifts. Some pains have been taken to obviate this objection, but without necessity, because it is manifestly unfounded; and, at any rate, it does not answer the design of those who have adopted it. Paul does indeed make mention of gifts; but he immediately proceeds to consider them as bestowed upon particular persons, and speaks of those persons as plainly as one man can speak of another. Besides, although he were speaking of gifts, the argument is of the same force as if he were speaking of persons; for gifts are bestowed upon persons for particular purposes. And if there are gifts which qualify for ruling, as there are gifts which qualify for teaching, it follows, that to rule or govern is the exclusive duty of those upon whom the former are conferred. Every unprejudiced man must perceive the truth of this reasoning, and consequently must think that the evasion mentioned above is not worthy of notice."

Coincident with all this, and confirmatory of it, is the fact everywhere apparent, that in all the churches of the apostolic time there was a plurality of elders. Every church had its bench, or college of officers, bearing this general appellation; for examples, see Acts xiv: 23 — "And when they had ordained them *elders in every church*" — not an elder in every church,

but in every church *elders*. Also, James v: 14 — “Is any sick among you? let him call for the *elders* of the church,” &c. There were, then, in the apostolic church two classes of elders, — not two orders of ministers, but two classes of persons under the general designation of elders — one class consisting of persons who were fully endowed with all the ministerial functions, to preach the word and administer the sacraments, and to exercise authority in the church as spiritual rulers; — the other, of persons not invested with ministerial powers, but appointed, in conjunction with the ministers, simply to rule.

Now, barely reminding the reader, that the apostles, besides being apostles, were also *elders*, (the proof has been previously quoted,) and that the question in regard to the permanency or otherwise, of the apostleship, as a ministerial office in the church, has not yet been settled, we call him to notice that we have found thus far but *one order of permanent christian ministers*. We have found, however, in addition to this one order of ministers, two other permanent offices: those of the deaconship and the ruling eldership, as they exist in the Presbyterian church.

The question in regard to the permanency of the deacon's office, is admitted on all hands. That in regard to the permanency of the office of ruling elder, is settled, by a consideration of the permanence of the same necessity which first gave occasion for its being constituted.

If our views in regard to ruling elders shall be controverted, we have only to admonish those concerned, that their office is not an essential feature of Presbyterianism, or of that ecclesiastical system described by the term *parity*.

Our author now, page fifty-four, returns to the question, Who are successors of the apostles, and who, therefore, are empowered to confer the ministerial commission? He says, — assuming that he has established the *fact* of three orders in the christian ministry — “To which of these three orders was the ordaining power committed?” This is literally a flight, or a

fall, for certainly there is nothing but thin air under him. "To which of these three orders!" *What* three orders, my dear brother? Surely something is wrong with your eyes, for you see treble. Do you not know that you have shown, as yet, but *one* order in the permanent christian ministry? Why, then, do you speak of three?

As you seem resolved never to take up the case of the apostles, and determine whether, *as such*, they were the holders of a permanent christian ministry; and as, in fact, you never do take it up, but go through your entire book, assuming your theory of their office, and making it the very foundation of your whole Episcopal system, I must here leave you for a while, and attend to that question; I can not get on farther, without having it disposed of.

WAS THE APOSTLESHIP INTENDED TO BE A SUCCESSIVE AND PERMANENT OFFICE?

We say it was not. In its very nature, as well as in the intention of Christ, it was *transient*, and ceased forever with the lives of those on whom it was first bestowed. Let me be distinctly understood. I speak of the *apostleship*. That the apostles were to have *successors* we do not deny, but on the contrary, affirm,—yet, not in the *apostleship*. They were *presbyters* as well as apostles, and it was in the *presbyterate* that they were to be succeeded by others, and in this only.

What was the real nature of the apostolical office? We may obtain a full answer to this question, by attending to the three following inquiries: What were the necessary qualifications for the apostolical office? What were its peculiar functions? And, what were its credentials?

First. What were the necessary qualifications for the apostolical office?

In the first place, it was indispensable to the holding of this office, that the person should have *seen the Lord*; at least, that he should have seen him *once*, after his resurrection. The reason for this will appear, when we come to consider the peculiar functions of the apostleship.

That having seen the Lord, was understood by the apostles themselves to be a necessary qualification for entering into their office, appears most conclusively from the account we have of the election of Matthias to fill the place of Judas. Peter, in proposing the designation of candidates, from whom the choice should be made by lot, thus describes those from among whom they might be selected: Acts i: 21, 22 —“Wherefore, *of these men which have companied with us, all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto that same day that he was taken up from us*, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection.” Comment is needless. The apostles understood that the selection must be made from a particular class of persons, namely, those who had been with them, and who had a personal acquaintance with Christ.

After our Lord's ascension, when it pleased him to call one to the apostleship who had not seen him during his personal ministry, or subsequently, during the forty days that he remained on earth, he personally *appeared* to him, with the very intent of obviating this difficulty, and said,—see Acts xxvi: 16,—“I have APPEARED unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness, both of these things which thou hast seen, and of the things wherein I will appear unto thee.” Compare this with what Ananias said to Saul, three days afterward in the city of Damascus,—see Acts xxii: 14, 15,—“The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and *see that Just One, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth*, for thou shalt be his witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard.” To this fact, at a subsequent time, when Paul felt it to be incumbent on him to

establish his title to the apostolical office, which had probably been called in question on the very ground of his not having had a personal acquaintance with Christ during his abode on earth, he appealed for proof,—see 1 Cor. ix: 1,—“Am I not an apostle? Am I not free? *have I not seen the Lord?*” Read also in the same epistle, chapter xv: 5–9,—“And that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve; after that he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain at this present, but some are fallen asleep. After that he was seen of James, then of all the apostles. And last of all, *he was seen of me also, as of one born out of due time*, for I am the least of all the apostles.” What does he mean by this? What can he mean by it, in the connection in which it stands, except that, by the miraculous vision of Christ, with which he was favored, he had been, as it were, untimely born, or brought into a condition of competency to receive the office to which Christ had called him? His seeing the Saviour was in some sense a *birth* to him; in some important respect, it changed his condition, and gave him a standing which he had not before.

Now, if it be said, that Paul has reference here solely to his *conversion*, I reply—In what sense, then, does he use the expression, “out of due time?” The proper time, and the only proper time for Paul to be converted, was the time when he first received full and decisive evidence of the messiahship of Jesus. His *conversion* then, was not *out of*, but *in* due time; but *his becoming eligible to the office of an apostle by a personal interview with Christ*, was “out of due time.” All the other apostles had seen and conversed with the Lord while he was alive, and afterward, previous to his ascension; but for Paul alone was reserved this untimely and miraculous vision of him. Beyond all dispute, the *birth*, the change of condition, or of standing to which the apostle refers, as resulting from Christ’s appearance to him, was the change in his condition, or standing in regard to the apostleship, whereby he became what

he was not before, a suitable person to be admitted to that office. Let any one consult the place, and see if it is not his *apostolical*, and not his *christian* character, of which Paul is speaking. He says — “As of one born out of due time, For I am the least of the *apostles*, that am not meet to be called an *apostle*. * * * But *by the grace of God I am what I am*, and his grace was not bestowed on me in vain; but I labored more abundantly than they all.”

Other proof is not wanting, that *to have seen Christ* was an indispensable qualification for the apostleship; but the proofs that have been adduced, are amply sufficient.

In the second place; it was equally indispensable that the individual assuming the apostolical office should have received *a direct and personal call thereto, by Christ*.

That the apostles themselves so understood it, is evident from the fact, that when they proceeded, whether properly or improperly, to choose one to fill the vacant place of Judas, they did not venture to designate the person, but having selected two as candidates, they appealed to the Lord by a lot, to select between them, or, if he should see fit, to reject them both. No other instance of the kind is recorded in all their acts. In no other ordination of a minister, or of any so-called apostle, did they ever proceed in any analogous manner. The case of Paul may be referred to again with eminent propriety and force; it was by a *direct and personal divine call*, and by nothing short of this, that he became an apostle; and distinctly *on this ground*, as well as on the ground of *having seen the Lord*, he vindicated his claim to the apostleship. Thus, Rom. i: 1,—“Paul a servant of Jesus Christ, *called to be an apostle*.” That he means *especially and divinely called, called by Christ himself*, we know from the fact. So, 2 Cor. i: 1,—“Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, *by the will of God*.” Again, 1 Tim. i: 1,—“Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, *by the commandment of God our Saviour*;” and more emphatically still, Gal. i: 1,—“Paul, an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and

God the Father, who raised him from the dead." Now, it is not by a mere accident of style that Paul so often refers to the fact of his being specially and personally called to the apostleship by Christ, but there was a design in it. Paul knew that he did not stand upon precisely the same footing with the eleven, and he knew that on this account there were some, who would be disposed to make light of his pretensions, and to judge that if he were an apostle at all, he was at least not equal with the rest. He felt called upon to meet this objection, and to assert by arguments, not only his official character, but his full equality in that character with others. Hence, he is in one place at the pains to show, that he is "not a whit behind the very chiefest of the apostles," and all along throughout all his epistles, it is a marked peculiarity with him to vindicate his authority by a continual reference to the two great facts of his *having seen the Lord*, and of his *having been called by him* to the apostleship. What conclusion is possible, but that Paul, knowing his apostleship to be denied by some on the ground of his lacking the necessary qualifications for it, understood that *these were the necessary qualifications for that office*, and therefore claimed to possess them?

It may be mentioned, as a fact, that the official title of *apostle*, is nowhere in the scriptures given to one whom Christ had not personally called and appointed to that office.

With this notice of the qualifications for the apostolic office, we may proceed,

Secondly. *To consider its peculiar functions.*

These may be all classed under one general head, — *bearing witness of Christ, of his doings and doctrines*; and especially of the great fact upon which the credibility of all the rest depended, — *his resurrection from the dead*. This they were to do from personal knowledge; not as second-hand and hearsay witnesses, but as eye-witnesses of the facts, and as actual hearers of the words spoken by him. Thus Peter says, 2 epistle, i: 16–18, "For we have not followed cunningly devised

fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were *eye-witnesses* of his majesty. For he received from God the Father honor and glory, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased. And this voice which came from Heaven *we heard*, when we were with him in the holy mount." So also, John, 1 Epistle, i: 1-3, "That which was from the beginning which we have *heard*, which we have *seen with our eyes*, which we have *looked upon*, and our *hands have handled*, of the Word of life; for the life was manifested, and we *have seen it and bear witness*, and show unto you that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us; that which *we have seen and heard* declare we unto you."

It was especially that the twelve might be qualified to be *such* witnesses of Christ, that he ordained or appointed them to "be with him," during the time of his earthly ministry, — that they might see and hear all that he did and said. To make up to Paul what he lacked from having never been with him or seen him, the risen and glorified Saviour *appeared* to him on his way to Damascus; and not only thus prepared him to be a competent witness of his resurrection, but promised him other similar appearances and special revelations, that he might in all respects be placed on an equality with the other apostles. — "I have *appeared* unto thee," said Christ, "for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness, *both of these things which thou hast seen* and of *those things in the which I will appear unto thee*." And Paul, in fact, *was* an original and independent witness — just such as the nature and conditions of the apostleship required. As he had not been made an apostle "of men, neither by man," so he did not obtain from men the gospel which he preached. To the Galatians, he says — chapter i: 11, 12 — "I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me, is not after man; for I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ."

Now let the reader understand, that what we are looking after, is that which was *peculiar* to the apostolic office, and distinguished it from the ordinary office of the gospel ministry. What we desire as the *end* of this inquiry is, to know whether the apostolic office was intended to be a permanent and successive office in the christian church. The question now is, what were its *peculiar* and *characteristic* functions? We have already answered, by saying that all were comprehended in this, — *to bear witness from personal knowledge, of Christ, of his doings and doctrines, and especially of his resurrection from the dead.* We challenge the world to show any thing besides this, appertaining to the apostolic office, that was peculiar to it and distinguished it.

Accounts of the original appointment of the apostles may be found in three places: Matt. x, Mark iii, and Luke vi. In the tenth chapter of Matthew there is a minute and full statement of the instructions, which, on that interesting and solemn occasion, our Lord addressed to them. The reader may refer to it and satisfy himself that there is nothing there contradictory to my present statement in regard to the peculiarity of their office.

The final commission which our Lord gave to his apostles, just before his ascension, ought to throw light upon this subject. For the reader's convenience I will quote the several passages entire, from the different places in which the commission is found:

MATT. XXVIII: 16 – 20. — “Then the eleven disciples went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus appointed them.

“And when they saw him they worshiped him: but some doubted.

“And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.

“Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;

“Teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. Amen.”

MARK XVI: 14-16.—“Afterward he appeared unto the eleven, as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief, and hardness of heart, because they believed not them which had seen him after he was risen.

“And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.

“He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.”

LUKE XXIV: 46-49.—“And (he) said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day;

“And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.

“And ye are witnesses of these things.

“And behold, I send the promise of the Father upon you.”

ACTS I: 6-9.—“When therefore they were come together, they asked of him, saying, Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom of Israel?

“And he said unto them, It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power.

“But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.

“And when he had spoken these things, while they beheld, he was taken up.”

The reader discovers two things simply, in these records. First, that the apostles received an ordinaray commission, as ministers, or common preachers of the gospel, authorizing them to do, what every ordained minister may do as well as they, to preach and administer the sacraments. Read the records in Matthew and Mark. And secondly, that they received an

extraordinary commission, appointing them to a work which none but they were competent to perform, and in which they could not have successors, for the reason that none after them could be competent to perform it.—See the records in Luke and Acts. Their extraordinary and peculiar work as apostles, was, *to bear witness of Christ*.—Luke xxiv: 48 — “*And ye are witnesses of these things.*” That is, of the things spoken of in the forty-sixth verse — his sufferings, and death, and resurrection from the dead, according to the predictions of the Old Testament concerning the true Messiah. They had been personally cognizant of the facts, and being able to testify from their own knowledge, they were his chosen and authorized witnesses of them to the world.

To the same effect, as indicating their extraordinary and peculiar office, according to the record in Acts, Christ said — “*And ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem and in all Judea,*” &c.

Each version, therefore, that we have of the commission which the apostles received from Christ after his resurrection, specifies two classes of duties or acts which they were to perform; one, of duties or acts which were to be performed, in common with them, *by all christian ministers*: and one, of a duty *peculiar to them, which none but they could perform*. And that *peculiar service* of the apostles neither includes the prerogatives of government and ordination which, it is pretended, appertained to them exclusively, nor has it any relation, near or remote, to such prerogatives, except as it implied a knowledge of the Saviour's will, which would specially qualify them for assuming, during their lifetime, the superior direction of all church affairs.

Let us now take some other place, if we can find one, and happily there are many, in which the peculiar business of an apostle is distinctly stated. We refer the reader again, in Acts i, to the place where we have the account of the selection of Matthias to fill the vacancy occasioned by the apostacy of Judas.

The twenty-first and twenty-second verses contain the words to be noticed: after Peter had explained the necessity which he supposed existed for the appointment of another apostle, he thus proceeded — “Wherefore, of these men which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning at the baptism of John, unto that same day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained *to be a witness with us of the resurrection of Christ.*” Observe, he must be chosen from among them that were *competent to be witnesses, having a personal knowledge of the matters in regard to which the witnessing was to be done;* and to be *such a witness, a witness from personal knowledge, was the special service for which he was to be made an apostle.* Could any thing be plainer than this? And, let it be further noticed, that this was specifically the view which the eleven took of the apostolic office held by themselves — “Wherefore * * * must one be ordained to be a witness WITH US of his resurrection.” Their own work as *apostles* they understood to be, to bear witness of Christ’s resurrection.

Take again, the case of Paul, as bearing on the point now under consideration. We have two separate accounts of his appointment to the apostleship, in each of which there is a distinct statement of the *design* of his appointment, and the nature of the service which, in that character, he was to perform. First, in Acts xxii: 14–15, we have the words of Ananias: “The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that Just One, and hear the words of his mouth, *for thou shalt be his witness unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard.*” Again, in Acts xxvi: 16, we have the words of our Lord himself: “I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a *witness, both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee.*” There is another text, in Acts xxiii: 11, where the nature of Paul’s *apostolic work* is described in exact conformity with the style above employed:

“The Lord stood by him and said, Be of good cheer, Paul; for as thou hast *testified* of me in Jerusalem, so must thou *bear witness* also at Rome.”

Everywhere, in the sacred narrative of the labors of the apostles, this bearing witness, from personal knowledge, of Christ, and particularly, of Christ's resurrection from the dead, is kept prominent, as the great thing. Peter, in his sermon on the day of Pentecost, says, Acts ii: 32 — “This Jesus hath God raised up, *whereof we are witnesses.*” Peter and the other apostles, before the council, said, Acts v: 29–32 — “We ought to obey God rather than men. The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew and hanged on a tree. Him hath God exalted with his own right hand, to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins, *and we are his witnesses of these things.*” Again, Acts x: 39–41, Peter at Cesarea declared — “*And we are witnesses* of all things which he did, both in the land of the Jews and in Jerusalem; whom they slew and hanged on a tree. Him God raised up the third day, and showed him openly; and he commanded us to preach unto the people, *and to testify that it was he which was ordained of God to be the Judge of quick and dead.*” And John tells us, Rev. i: 9, that he “was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the *testimony of Jesus.*” His banishment was for preaching the gospel, and for *bearing witness of Christ.*

We have thus shown, as we think, by testimony which can not fail to carry conviction to every unbiassed mind, what was the *peculiarity* of the apostolic office. It was not to govern the church, and to ordain ministers, but *to bear witness, from personal knowledge, of Christ, and particularly, of his resurrection.* In the performance of this general duty, they not only testified orally to men, while they lived, but they wrote down their testimony for all succeeding generations — which we have in the gospels and epistles, composed, as their oral testimony was delivered, under a divine inspiration, preserving them from

errors, and according to the Saviour's promise (John xiv: 26) teaching them all things, and bringing all things to their remembrance, whatsoever Christ had spoken unto them. As witnesses for Christ, they also presided over the formation and establishment of the Christian church, directing and ordering all things in accordance, undoubtedly, with instructions which he had given them during his life time, and subsequently, previous to his ascension.

Now, Episcopalians tell us, that the peculiar functions of the apostolic office were, to *govern the church* and *ordain ministers*. Where do they get it? Is it not very singular, if that were the case, that neither in their commission, nor in one solitary place where the *design* of their appointment is stated, is there the faintest allusion to any such functions as these? Why have we no mention of them in the account that is given us of the appointment of Matthias? Why none, in the repeated accounts by Paul of his own call and consecration to this work? Why is the work of an apostle *always* that which we have described — *to bear witness, from personal knowledge, of Christ* — and *never* that which our opponents pretend it was, to *govern* and *ordain*? Must not this appear, to our Episcopal friends, a very remarkable circumstance?

But Episcopalians say, "Look at the facts;" and in opposition to our citation of plain and positive records, as to what the great and essential peculiarity of the apostleship was, they refer us to the facts that the apostles did govern the church and ordain ministers. We do not deny that they did so. We only deny that to do these things was properly and peculiarly *apostolical work*. We deny that to *govern* and *ordain* were properly and peculiarly *apostolic functions*. It must be remembered that the apostles were *presbyters* also; and we maintain, that so far as they acted officially in the government of the church, and in the ordination of ministers, they acted in their *presbyterial*, and not in their apostolical character. This we confirm: first, by the fact which has been made

already to appear — that to do these things was not included in their apostolical warrant; and secondly, by the fact which will be made equally apparent by and by — that to do these things was proper presbyterial work. The apostles were the men of course, and of necessity, to take the lead, and to appear at the head of every thing while they lived. Their knowledge, from having been with Christ and received his personal instructions, and their inspiration, sufficiently indicated them, so long as they continued in the church, as absolute and authoritative directors in all matters; and it is not to be forgotten, that at the beginning there were no ministers in the church, of any kind, except themselves; so that what was done, was of necessity done by them.

The supremacy of the apostles, as such, in the church, resulted from their peculiar character as *witnesses of Christ*. They, and they only, knew his doctrines and his will. They, and they only, were competent to say what directions the master had left behind him, for the ordering of his kingdom. They had been chosen and personally instructed by him for this especial purpose; and they had his spirit to assist and guide them in their work. This, of itself, while they lived, made them *rulers*. They had “the mind of Christ,” so that in them Christ still lived. They were in his stead, and their word was Christ’s word. During their life-time they were governors, not *in officio*, but *ex officio*. Government was not their proper office, but in the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed, it was an unavoidable *contingent* of their proper office as *witnesses*. We are prepared now to consider

Thirdly. *The credentials of the apostleship*. What were the marks of a true apostle? I begin here by referring to the words of Paul, in 2 Cor. vii: 12 — “Truly the *signs of an apostle* were wrought among you in all patience, *in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds*.” Now it is to be remembered, that Paul had been called to the apostleship in a miraculous way, and that for the actuality of his call, he was himself,

almost, if not quite, the only witness. They that journeyed with him, at the time when the Lord appeared to him on his way to Damascus, could, if summoned to give their testimony, confirm some of the circumstances in his most wonderful narration; for they saw the light, and all fell to the earth, overwhelmed by the awful glories of the vision; but they did not hear the voice that conversed with Saul; and of that, which was the main thing, they could say nothing. It was necessary, therefore, that Paul should be able to establish his claims to the apostleship by something more than a mere verbal declaration of what he had seen and heard. If there were "*signs of an apostle*," whereby one called of God to the performance of that high mission, might be certainly accredited and known, it was indispensable that he should be able to produce them. From the text that has been quoted we learn,—First, the fact, that there *were* such "*signs of an apostle*" as those of which I have just spoken; and secondly, we learn what the "*signs of an apostle*" were. To establish their credit among men as *his witnesses*, Christ had endowed his apostles with the power of working miracles, of doing the same things in his name, which he himself had been wont to do in confirmation of his own claims to be the messiah. I am well aware that it may be said, that in the early days of the church the power of working miracles was not confined to the apostles, and therefore could not be regarded as especially a badge or credential of apostleship; but I reply, that this is a mere evasion: the power of working miracles was the proof of whatever was sought to be proved by such means. Christ's miracles were wrought in attestation of his messiahship; and they proved his messiahship. The miracles of the apostles were wrought in attestation of their apostleship; and they *proved* their apostleship. If it can be shown that others in the early church ever performed miraculous works to prove that *they were apostles*, then something will be made out against the position I have taken. My position simply is, that the power of working miracles was an essential testimony of apostleship

to them who *claimed* to be apostles; and that none were received as apostles, who did not show *this sign*. Paul said to the Corinthians, "And truly *the signs of an apostle* were wrought among you," &c. Those "signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds," therefore, which he had wrought, were *understood* to be proofs of his apostolical authority, and not only so, but they were understood to be the signs always, in every instance, by which one claiming to be an apostle verified his commission.

Besides working miracles, in the proper sense of such language, the apostles had the peculiar and exclusive power of imparting miraculous gifts of the spirit, by the imposition of hands; and to aid them in the important and most responsible work which devolved on them, not as apostles merely, but as ordinary ministers, in the original founding and establishing of the christian church, and in the selection of persons to take part with them in their ministry, they seem to have enjoyed, to a very great extent, the peculiar prerogative of discerning spirits, of knowing the inmost thoughts and real characters of men. It is needless to furnish proof on these points.

Having now shown what were the essential qualifications of the apostleship, what were its peculiar functions, and what were its credentials, we are ready for the main question: *Was the apostleship designed to be a permanent and successive office in the church?* There is no presumption, certainly, in saying that this question is already answered. If it has been established that none could be apostles who had not *seen the Lord*, and who were not *directly and personally called by him* — that the peculiar and proper functions of the apostolic office were all comprehended under the general description of *bearing witness, from personal knowledge, of Christ*; and that the requisite "*signs of an apostle*" were *miracles*, then the question now before us, is effectually and finally disposed of. The apostles, *as such*, were to have no successors. *They could have none. As such*, they are still present in the church, witnessing to us by

their writings. They were THE APOSTLES while they lived. They are THE APOSTLES now; and to the end of time, they will continue to be THE APOSTLES — unsucceeded, for the simple and sufficient reasons, that in the nature of things, without a succession of such miracles as were wrought in the case of Paul, no succession could take place; and that the great head of the church has never seen fit to perpetuate the succession by such miraculous means.

At this point I desire to introduce certain testimonies, which can not fail to have weight with the reader. And first, though an anonymous helper of Mr. Schuyler has endeavored — see Mr. Schuyler's book, page 219 — to show, that in quoting this author in my sermon, I perverted his meaning, I offer again the testimony of Dr. Barrow. The reader will be able to judge whether it is in point. I shall quote this time, I trust, more to the satisfaction of my reviewers. — See Barrow on the Supremacy of the Pope, pp. 122, 123, 124.

“The apostolical office, *as such*, was personal and temporary; and therefore, according to its *nature* and *design*, *not successive*, *or communicable to others*, *in perpetual descendance from them*.

“It was, as such, in all respects extraordinary, conferred in a special manner, designed for special purposes, discharged by special aids, endowed with special privileges, as was needful for the propagation of Christianity and founding of churches.

“To that office it was requisite, that the person should have an immediate designation and commission from God; such as St. Paul doth so often insist upon for asserting his title to the office: Paul, *an apostle, not from men, or by man*. — Gal. i: 1. ‘*Not by men*,’ saith St. Chrysostom, ‘*this is a property of the apostles*.’

“It was requisite that an apostle should be able to attest concerning our Lord's resurrection or ascension, either immediately, as the twelve, or by evident consequence, as St. Paul; thus St. Peter implied, at the choice of Matthias, Acts i: 21, 22: *Wherefore of these men which have companied with us* * *

must one be ordained to be a witness with us of the resurrection; and, 1 Cor. ix: 1, xv: 8, Am I not, saith St. Paul, an apostle? have I not seen the Lord? according to that of Ananias, Acts xxii: 14, 15, The God of our Fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldest know his will, and see that Just One, and shouldest hear the voice of his mouth; for thou shalt bear witness, unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard.

“It was needful, also, that an apostle should be endowed with miraculous gifts and graces, enabling him, both to assure his authority and to execute his office; wherefore St. Paul calleth these, 2 Cor. xii: 12, Rom. xv: 18, *the marks of an apostle, the which were wrought by him among the Corinthians in all patience, or perseveringly, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds.*

“It was also, in St. Chrysostom’s opinion, proper to an apostle, that he should be able, according to his discretion, in a certain and conspicuous manner to impart spiritual gifts; as St. Peter and St. John did at Samaria; which to do, according to that father, was the peculiar gift and privilege of the apostles. Chrys. in Acts viii: 18.

“It was also a privilege of an apostle, by virtue of his commission from Christ, *to instruct all nations* in the doctrine and law of Christ; he had right and warrant to exercise his function everywhere; *his charge was universal and indefinite; the whole world was his province.* — Chrys. in John xxi. He was not affixed to any one place, nor could be excluded from any; he was, as St. Cyril calleth him, — Cyril, in Gen. vii, — *an œcumenical judge, and an instructor of all the sub-celestial world.*

“Apostles also did govern in an absolute manner, according to discretion, as being guided by infallible assistance, to the which they might upon occasion appeal and affirm. — Acts xv: 28, *It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and us.* Whence their writings have passed for inspired, and therefore canonical, or certain rules of faith and practice.

“It did belong to them to found churches, to constitute pastors, to settle orders, to correct offenses, to perform all such acts of sovereign spiritual power, in virtue of the same divine assistance, *according to the authority which the Lord had given them for edification*; as we see practised by St. Paul.

“In fine, *the apostleship was*, as St. Chrysostom telleth us, — Chrys. in Rom. i, — *a business fraught with ten thousand good things; both greater than all privileges of grace, and comprehensive of them.*

“Now such an office, consisting of so many extraordinary privileges and miraculous powers, which were requisite for the foundation of the church, and the diffusion of christianity against the manifold difficulties and disadvantages which it then needs must encounter, was not designed to continue by derivation; for it containeth in it, divers things, which apparently, (*i. e.*, evidently) were not communicated, and which no man without gross imposture and hypocrisy could challenge to himself.

“Neither did the apostles pretend to communicate it: they did indeed appoint standing pastors and teachers in each church; they did assume fellow-laborers or assistants in the work of preaching and governance, but they did not constitute apostles, equal to themselves in authority, privileges, or gifts; for, *who knoweth not*, saith St. Austin, *i. e.* Augustin, (Aug. de Bap. Cont. Don. ii: 1,) — *Who knoweth not that principate of apostleship to be preferred before any episcopacy?* And saith Belarmine, — Bel. iv: 25, — *The bishops have no part of the true apostolical authority.*

“Wherefore St. Peter, who had no other office mentioned in scripture, or known to antiquity, beside that of an apostle, could not have, properly and adequately, any successor to his office; but it naturally did expire with his person, *as did that of the other apostles.*

“Accordingly, whereas the other apostles, as such, had no successors, the apostolical office not being propagated, the

primacy of St. Peter, whatever it were, whether of order or jurisdiction, in regard to his brethren, did cease with him; *for when there were no apostles extant*, there could be no head or prince of the apostles in any sense."

I trust I shall not be accused again of garbling the words of Dr. Barrow. Mr. Schuyler and his anonymous assistant may perhaps regret that I have not garbled. I have culled nothing, but have given the entire section on the point under consideration, as Dr. Barrow left it. Whether Dr. Barrow's views of the apostleship are different from mine, the reader will judge. Indeed, while transcribing, I have felt almost afraid that I should be suspected of having borrowed my entire argument from him, so exactly do my reasonings coincide with his.

My reviewer,—see Mr. Schuyler's book, page 220,—says, that "the particular subject on which Dr. Barrow is treating, is that there is no *succession*, as Romanists alledge, to the *primacy of St. Peter*." This is indeed the point which Dr. Barrow is aiming to establish; but in what way does he establish it? Simply by proving that Peter's primacy among the apostles was not communicable? No, but by proving that the *apostleship itself* was not communicable. See the summing up of his argument in the last paragraph of my quotation from him. Peter's primacy ceased with him: because, "*whereas the other apostles, as such, had no successors, the apostolical office was not propagated*;" consequently, "*when there were no apostles extant, there could be no head or prince of the apostles*."

On the same page, the reviewer says, "It is only the apostolical office, as characterized by the *inspiration*, and *miraculous powers* of its first incumbents, which he (Dr. Barrow) asserts can have *no succession*." The reader can not be deceived by such a representation as this, with Dr. Barrow's own words before him. What does he *say*? That the apostles did not transmit their *miraculous powers*? No; that they did not transmit *their office*. "The apostles, *as such*, had no successors." After their death, "*there were no apostles extant*."

“Such an office, consisting of so many extraordinary privileges, &c., was not designed to continue by derivation.” “The apostolical office, as such, was personal and temporary, and therefore according to its nature and design, NOT successive.”

But my reviewer says that Dr. Barrow did not mean *the apostolical office, as such*, but only “the apostolical office as characterized by *inspiration* and *miraculous powers!*” If this were so, what would become of his argument against the pope? The very gist of that argument is, that as the *apostleship* was not successive, *Peter’s primacy*, of whatever it consisted, could not be; that, as after the death of the first apostles, there were no more apostles extant, there could be no head or prince of the apostles.” If he simply meant, that after the first apostles, their successors ceased to be endowed with *inspiration* and *miraculous powers*, how would this prove that there might not be a head or a prince among their successors, as well as among themselves? It might serve to show that the pope’s pretensions to *inspiration* and *miraculous powers* are unfounded, if he is fool enough to claim such things; but it could not in the least affect his claims to the succession of Peter’s primacy.

Dr. Barrow, if he were alive, I am sure, would protest against such an interpreter of his writings, as Mr. Schuyler’s friend. He was an Episcopalian, but very far from being a believer in that kind of apostolical succession, which has become, of late, the popular and prevailing dogma of modern Episcopal divines.

My next testimony is from the “Synopsis Papismi,” of Dr. Willet, published in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and dedicated to her; the author professes to give not only his own opinion, but that of the English church. The quotations are made by Rev. Wm. C. Wisner, in his book entitled “Prelacy and Parity.” Dr. Willet says, “Every godly and faithful bishop is a successor of the apostles. We deny it not; and so are all faithful and godly pastors and ministers. For in respect

of their extraordinary calling, miraculous gifts, and *apostleship*, the apostles have properly no successors; as Mr. Bembridge, the martyr, saith, that he believed not bishops to be the successors of the apostles, *for that they be not called as they were, nor have that grace*. That, therefore, which the apostles were especially appointed unto, is the thing wherein the apostles were properly succeeded; but that was the preaching of the gospel: as St. Paul saith, he was sent to *preach*, not to baptize. The promise of succession, we see, is in the preaching of the word, which appertaineth as well to other pastors and ministers, as to bishops." "This,"—says Mr. Wisner, and I perfectly agree with him,—“is just as we believe: the apostles, as such, have no successors; but as presbyters, or simple preachers of the gospel, they are succeeded; and every faithful minister is, in this sense, a successor of the *apostles*.” Again, from Dr. Willet: “Seeing, in the apostles’ time, a bishop and a priest were, neither in name, nor in office distinguished, it followeth, then, that either the apostles assigned no succession while they lived, neither appointed their successors; or that, indifferently, all faithful pastors and preachers of the apostolic faith, are the *apostles’ successors*.”

Archbishop Whately, in his “Kingdom of Christ,” page 109, says — “The apostle Paul, in speaking of miracles as ‘the signs of an apostle,’ evidently implies, that no one, not possessing such miraculous gifts as his, much less without possessing any at all, could be entitled to be regarded as on a level with the apostles.” Of course the apostles, having no successors in the gift of miracles, have none in the apostleship.

Similar testimonies, from Episcopal writers of the highest authority, might be quoted indefinitely.

I beg my readers not to forget the testimonies from ancient authors, quoted by Dr. Barrow; and that they may have their full weight, I shall extricate them, and place them here in a more conspicuous light.

St. Chrysostom, on Galatians i: 1, where Paul declares himself “an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ,” says—“*not by men; this is a property of the apostles.*” That is, to be directly and immediately called by Christ himself, is a *property*, or *peculiarity*, of the apostles; this *distinguishes* them.

The same father, on Acts viii: 18, declares, that to communicate the Holy Ghost, by the imposition of their hands, was the *peculiar gift and privilege of the apostles*; by which Barrow understands him to mean, that that power appertained to the apostolic office, as a mark or function of it, so that its discontinuance proves the discontinuance of the office itself.

Again, on John xxi: — “*His charge, i. e., an apostle's, was universal and indefinite; the whole world was his province.*”

Barrow understands *St. Chrysostom* as meaning, by this, that in this respect, of the extent of his charge, an apostle held an office marked by a peculiarity which rendered it incommunicable to others in succession. The fact that no living bishop, save the pope of Rome, lays claim to any such extent of diocese, is well known. According to *Chrysostom*, each modern bishop should claim the *world* for a diocese, or *not* claim to be a successor of the apostles.

To the same effect, *St. Cyril*, on Genesis vii, says, an apostle “*was an œcumenical judge, and an instructor of all the sub-celestial world;*” that is, he was so by the very essential nature of his apostolic office. Every modern bishop, therefore, like the pope, should claim the same thing, or according to *St. Cyril*, abandon at once all pretensions to be in the apostolic succession.

St. Augustine,—*De Bapt. Cont. Don.* ii: 1,—says, “*Who knoweth not that principate of apostleship to be preferred before any episcopacy?*” That is, who does not know that no bishop whatever can lay claim to the apostolic dignity, as having succeeded thereto? So Barrow understands it, and so evidently *Augustine* meant.

Bellarmino,—Bell. iv : 25, says —“*The bishops have no part of the true apostolical authority.*” On Eph. iv : 11, and 1 Cor. xii : 28, he says, according to a note of Dr. Barrow, on page 124,—“*The apostles themselves do make the apostolate a distinct office from pastors and teachers, which are the standing (i. e., the permanent) offices in the church.*” What he means, by saying that the apostles themselves make the apostolate a *distinct office from that of pastors and teachers*, is explained by the manner in which he qualifies the latter offices. They are the *standing* or *permanent* offices in the church ; the former were not understood to be so by the apostles themselves.

These ancient fathers, let it be observed, speak with the utmost distinctness, and they do not express their opinions doubtfully or hesitatingly, as if they were on debatable ground.

There is a great variety of argument for the temporary and purely extraordinary character of the apostolical office, which has not been glanced at, and which can not be without swelling this volume to most unjustifiable dimensions. There is one consideration, however, which, in concluding, I can not forbear to introduce, and I am mainly influenced in singling it out from the rest, because I do not recollect to have seen it anywhere made as prominent as I think it deserves to be.

There is abundant evidence that the number *twelve*, corresponding with the number of the tribes of Israel, was designed to be the *unchangeable* number of the apostles ; and that THE TWELVE were to be honored in the church in all ages, as a goodly, and glorious, and exclusive fellowship,—standing alone, unequalled, unapproached, unresembled.

Let it be remembered, that *twelve* is eminently a sacred number, distinguished in the entire history of the church of God from the beginning, in a manner which sufficiently indicates a special and peculiar purpose respecting it. To refer to a few of the instances in which it occurs, commencing with the *twelve* sons whom God gave to Jacob, and the *twelve* tribes of

Israel his people, we have *twelve* precious stones in the breast-plate of judgment worn by Aaron and his successors in the high priesthood; *twelve* loaves of the shew-bread on the pure table before the Lord in the sanctuary; *twelve* princes, heads of the families of Israel; *twelve* chargers of silver, *twelve* silver bowls, and *twelve* spoons of gold, "in the dedication of the altar in the day when it was anointed by the princes of Israel." The oxen for the burnt offering were *twelve* bullocks, the rams *twelve*, the lambs of the first year *twelve*, with their meat-offering, and the kids of goats for a sin-offering *twelve*. When the Israelites in their journeying drew near to the promised land, *twelve* men were sent to search it. *Twelve* stones were directed to be taken up out of Jordan, as they passed over, to be placed in a heap at their first lodging-place, for a memorial of that day. Solomon had *twelve* officers over all Israel, and *twelve* images of lions surrounded his throne. The brazen sea in the temple was supported by *twelve* brazen bulls. In his great trial with the priests of Baal, Elijah built his altar of *twelve* stones. Ezekiel, in his vision of the return of God's glory, and the spiritual house that was to be built for him to dwell in, received directions for the altar — that it should be *twelve* cubits long, and *twelve* cubits broad. After our Lord's miracle of feeding the five thousand, besides women and children, they took up of the fragments that remained *twelve* baskets full. Jesus was *twelve* years old when he first went up to Jerusalem and disputed with the doctors in the temple. The woman seen in the Revelation, whom the dragon persecuted, had upon her head a crown of *twelve* stars. The city, New Jerusalem, which John saw coming down from God out of heaven, had *twelve* gates, and at the gates *twelve* angels. The wall of the city had *twelve* foundations, and the *twelve* gates were *twelve* pearls. And finally, on either side of the river of the water of life, which John saw proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb, was there the tree of life, which bare *twelve* manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit *twelve* times every year.

From this recapitulation it appears, as I have said, that *twelve* is a sacred number. The whole analogy of this might seem to be answered in the fact that our Lord, in his original appointment of apostles, limited the number to twelve, yet designing that that number should be increased; that it should grow from twelve in the beginning to twelve thousand, or, if need be, to twelve hundred thousand, in the course of time. I am satisfied, however, from other considerations, that his intention was, that there should be no more apostles, and that *twelve* should be the total count of them to the end of time and forever.

First. There seems to be no room for doubt, that such was the impression of Peter, when he interested himself in the election of Matthias, to fill up the duodecimate broken by the fall of Judas. He evidently regarded the place of the apostate in the light of a *vacancy*. But how or why a *vacancy*, except on the supposition that *twelve* was known to be the fixed and definite number of the apostolic college? Why should the place be filled at all? Why should not the number be left as it was — *eleven*? Or, if Peter felt that eleven were not sufficient, why, while the business of electing was in hand, should he limit the election to *one*, and not choose two, or three, or four, or any number of additional apostles that he might judge to be expedient for the great work that was just coming upon them? Why was it, that in his opinion, the apostles must be just *twelve*, no more and no less? I am aware that it may be replied, that Peter acted upon his exposition of certain sayings of David, which he supposed to have reference to this matter, and which are quoted in the twentieth verse. Granting that those expressions of David had reference to this case, according to Peter's application of them, then the questions that I have asked above, in regard to the principles on which this apostle acted, become even more pertinent and forcible in regard to the principles on which the Spirit of prophecy proceeded, in regarding the place of Judas as a *vacancy*.—"His bishopric

(according to the original, his *charge*, his *office*) let another take." There was, then, according to the Holy Spirit, a *twelfth* place in the college of apostles; and as the prophetic spirit intimated nothing more in the way of increase, there was no place counting above the *twelfth*. *Twelve* was the fixed and definite number of the apostles, not to be changed by diminution or by increase.

Secondly, I refer the reader to Matt. xxix: 28 — "And Jesus said unto them, Verily, I say unto you, that ye which have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of his glory, *ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.*" What I have to say upon this is, that it is certain that *the twelve apostles*, as such, *as the twelve*, were to be advanced to eminent and peculiar dignity in the eternal world. What is particularly promised here, may indeed be figurative, yet it can not be denied or doubted that something *particular* and *peculiar* is promised, and that it is promised to *the twelve*. But did not our Lord know that there were to be more apostles than twelve? that there were to be *thirteen* almost immediately after his ascension, by the election by lot of Matthias, and his own miraculous call and consecration of Saul? and that the number was to be speedily swelled yet more by the appointment of Barnabas, and Timothy, and Titus? and that ere long the world was to be full of apostles? If our Lord knew this, why but *twelve* thrones? Why but *twelve* of all the innumerable multitude of apostles to be thus exalted and distinguished? If it shall be said, that this was promised to the *first* twelve because of a certain precedence to which they were entitled on account of their priority in point of time, and also of the peculiar hardships and dangers to which they were exposed as the founders of his church, then I reply, that although this promise was made when Judas was yet in good standing, he of course is not to be regarded as an inheritor of one of those thrones, and there arises a serious competition between Matthias and Paul. There is a

vacant throne for one of them, and for but one. Which shall have it? Matthias — as having been an apostle *first*? Then what becomes of Paul, who claimed to be “not a whit behind the very chiefest of the apostles,” and “in labors more abundant than they all?” Is he to share the common lot of such second-rate apostles as Timothy, and Titus, and Barnabas, and in modern times, Ives, and Delancy, and Doane? Rejecting such a thought as wholly inadmissible, shall the throne be assigned to Paul on the score of his eminent services? Then equally sad seems to be the case of Matthias, who, it is claimed, was an apostle while Paul was a persecutor; and who was one of those that companied with Jesus from the time of his baptism, to the time of his ascension.

The supposition that the apostles were to have successors in the apostleship, and that the twelve thrones were promised to the *first* twelve by reason of priority in point of time and labors, meets with an insuperable difficulty in the conflicting claims of Paul and Matthias. We deny, for reasons that will be shown hereafter, that Matthias was an apostle, and affirm, on the basis of the text now under consideration, that in the purpose of Christ, the number of apostles was limited to *twelve*. We affirm, that to all eternity the apostles are to be *twelve*, among all the redeemed, a conspicuous, glorious, unassociated *duodecimate*.

Again: we invite attention to the fourteenth verse of the twenty-first chapter of Revelation, where occurs a description of “the holy city, new Jerusalem,”—“And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, *and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.*” The question is, why “of the *twelve* apostles of the Lamb,” if there were *thirteen*, and even *more*? Why of the *twelve*, if there were thousands and tens of thousands of real apostles in the church? Will any one give a satisfactory reply? If the same reply shall be attempted as in the case of the *thrones*, then we press the same difficulty,—Whose is the twelfth name? Surely not the traitor’s. Then

whose? There is a twelfth apostle, whose name is in the foundation of the holy city, new Jerusalem,—Who is that *twelfth apostle*? I propose the problem for Mr. Schuyler's solution in his next book, or in the appendix to his next edition of the last. I affirm, and I do it with the utmost confidence, that he who gave this revelation to John, knew of but twelve apostles then being or to be, while the world should stand. The number of them in his mind was fixed, unchangeable as his own nature or name.

We infer the same thing also from a text much used by Episcopalians in this controversy: it is in Eph. ii: 20,—“And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.” That Paul here had reference to the *twelve apostles* who testified from personal knowledge of Christ, will hardly be denied. If this shall be denied, my argument, in the main purpose of it, will not be affected. I affirm, that he spoke of *the twelve*, and the whole current usage of the sacred writers when they speak of “the apostles,” as such, sustains my affirmation. In every case the reference is to the original company of our Lord's apostles, authorized and appointed by him. In the text, the apostles are associated with *the prophets*, whose number was completed by Malachi, whom the Jews called *the seal of prophecy*, because with him the succession of prophets ended; and with *Christ*, the *one* and *only* Saviour. The prophets witnessed, by inspiration, of Christ as a Saviour to come; and the apostles, by inspiration and personal knowledge, witnessed of him as a Saviour who *had* come, and finished his work. Christ, therefore, is appropriately, and with great force, called the corner stone of the spiritual house into which his people are built; while the apostles and the prophets, not as *persons*, of course, but by their testimony of him, by the truth which they promulgated, are represented as constituting the residue of the foundation. There can be no more prophets; there can be no other Saviour; there can be no more apostles. The prophets

finished their work, and received their reward. Christ finished his work, and entered into the joy that was set before him. So the apostles finished their work, and went to heaven. Prophets, apostles, and Christ himself, as a suffering redeemer, had each their *place* and their *time* in the work assigned to them. They stood in their several places, filled up their several times, and inherited their several rewards. Still they all live, in the living foundation of the living temple. Prophets and apostles, by their recorded testimonies in the living word, and Christ, by his own testimony, and by his omnipotent power and grace filling and pervading the whole habitation of his earthly glory.

When we read of the foundation of the spiritual house as composed of "apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone," we are directed backward to the past. We do not look for the foundation in the upper parts of a building, but at the bottom; so, for the foundation of Christ's spiritual house, or for those who laid it by their testimony, and toil, and tears, and blood, we look down, through the successive ages of its erection, to the foundation's place and time. There we find prophets; there we find apostles; there we find the suffering, dying Christ, and none of them succeeded, but all personally immortal in their incommunicable offices, and in the endless efficacy of their several finished works.

If it shall be said, counting Judas as one of the original apostles, that we ourselves make thirteen, by admitting the apostleship of Paul; we reply, that if it is proper, which we do not at all believe, to consider Judas as ever having been an apostle in the strict sense of the word, who was dead and damned before the new dispensation was introduced, and before the true apostolic commission was conferred; still, at the time of Paul's enrollment in this honored company, his name was utterly stricken from the catalogue, and was regarded as though it never had been there. He had fallen as a star from heaven, and his place had become a blank. Certain it is, that

he was no apostle in the christian church. Paul, therefore, was not the *thirteenth* apostle, but the *twelfth*.

I am not alone in supposing that the apostolic office, strictly speaking, was not conferred until the time of our Lord's ascension, and that it never, therefore, in any proper sense, appertained to Judas.

Bloomfield, in his Digest, on John xx: 22, has the following passage, in which his own opinion is most clearly expressed: "Having thus manifested himself to his disciples, confirmed their faith, and filled their hearts with joy, our Lord prepares to depart, by bidding them an affectionate *eirene umin*; but he previously, in a very remarkable manner, instructs them on the nature of their *future* office. (Tittman.) These words were addressed to the disciples as *future apostles*, and therefore, are to them only to be referred, and not to all teachers of the gospel." Bloomfield is such excellent authority with all Episcopalians, that no other can be desired, though other and equally good authorities might be cited.

Having thus considered, and as we think established by irrefragible arguments, the incommunicableness of the apostolic office, and that it was not intended that the first apostles, as such, should have successors in the church, we proceed now to notice, as briefly as may be, the arguments by which Episcopalians of a certain order seek to maintain the contrary.

EPISCOPAL ARGUMENTS

FOR THE PERMANENCE AND SUCCESSIVENESS OF THE APOSTOLIC OFFICE.

All that class of arguments which Episcopalians derive from the apostles' commission, and from the promises which they received of perpetual grace, and from the fact that, at the time of our Lord's ascension, the whole ministry of the church was in their hands, we have sufficiently considered already. That the twelve were appointed to an ordinary, as well as to an extraordinary ministry; or, if the terms are better liked, to a presbyterial as well as to an apostolic charge, can not be denied. Let any view whatever be taken of what was strictly and peculiarly the nature of the apostolic office, still, it must be admitted, that the apostles were appointed to preach and administer the sacraments, *i e.*, to do the work of simple and ordinary ministers. In fact, they held two offices. They were *apostles*, and they were *ministers* in the ordinary sense of the latter word. Mr. Schuyler himself admits this. See his book, page seventy-two — speaking of the presbytery that ordained Timothy, he asks "Who composed this presbytery?" and replies — "It may have been composed only of apostles, for we know that both Peter and John style themselves '*elders*' or '*presbyters*.'" He means, that since the apostles were *also presbyters*, there is no objection to the idea that they alone composed that presbytery. They were, then, *presbyters*, or *simple ministers of the gospel like Mr. Schuyler and myself*. Now, it is needless to say, that it can be proved, from the terms of their commission, or from the promises which they received of perpetual grace, or from the fact of their holding, at the time of Christ's ascension, the whole ministry of the church in their hands, which they were to perpetuate by succession, that the *apostleship* was to be so perpetuated. Indeed, Episcopalians do not rely upon these arguments. The intelligent

among them admit that the decisive question relates to a matter of simple *fact* — *Was the apostleship communicated? Did the apostles, as a matter of fact, transfer their apostolical authority to others? Did they make other apostles?* This is the great question, and we accept of it as decisive. If it can be shown that the apostleship was actually transferred, we yield the controversy, and own that episcopacy has won the field; if it can *not* be, our opponents are in that predicament themselves, and the field is ours.

THE CASE OF MATTHIAS.

The case first cited, to prove that the apostleship was communicable, and to establish the fact of a succession, is that of *Matthias*. I meet this with a direct denial that Matthias ever received the apostolical office; maintaining that the action of Peter and the other disciples in his case, recorded in the first chapter of Acts, was irregular, and wholly without effect. I wish it to be distinctly understood, that I assume ground here not ordinarily taken by Presbyterian writers, and not at all essential in this controversy. For, let it be admitted that Matthias was an apostle, and what then? — it does not follow that the apostleship was communicable in any such sense as is claimed by Episcopalians. The admission overthrows a single argument which I have employed — that based upon the unchangeableness of the apostolic number; but it does not establish the fact of a succession, such as is contended for by our opponents. The case of Matthias is entirely without value to them, however it be considered; for —

First. Matthias was chosen, not to increase the number of the apostolic college, but to fill a vacancy. He was chosen to take the place which should have been occupied by Judas. The utmost that any one can think of arguing from this, is that the original number of apostles was to be kept good in

the church on earth, by regularly supplying the places of such as should apostatize or die. Peter judged that it was right and expedient for him and those that were with him, to fill the existing vacancy. Where is the intimation in all that he said or did, that he would have felt at liberty, in any case, to go farther, and choose *more* apostles? His whole conduct and manner show that he was perfectly conscious of having no right to do more than he proposed, *i. e.*, to fill the vacant place of Judas, and so make good the broken number, *twelve*. And let it be remembered, that even this he did not venture upon, without being able, as he supposed, to quote specific prophecies bearing directly upon that particular case.

What authority is here, for the practice of Episcopalians who make apostles, so called by them, in any number, and just when they please?

Again; Matthias was not understood to receive a human, but a divine appointment. Peter, and the disciples who were with him, did not pretend to designate him to the apostleship, but they selected two whom they judged to be suitable persons, and then, in the faith that "the whole disposing of the lot is of the Lord," proceeded to determine *by lot*, whether of the two *God had chosen*. They understood, what we affirm and maintain, that to be an apostle, it was necessary that a man should receive a special call thereto from God himself, and accordingly, to God they made their appeal.

Finally. The apostleship of Matthias was understood by Peter and the disciples, to be derived *solely* from the *divine choice*, and not by communication or transfer from any human being; for, when "the lot fell upon Matthias," *immediately*, without the imposition of hands, which was the sign of transfer, or any form of ordination whatever, "he was numbered with the apostles." He was understood not to receive a communicated or transferred office, but to be directly called and consecrated by the head of the church himself, just as the other apostles had been before him.

What authority is here, I ask again, for such making of apostles as is contended for by our Episcopal friends, among whom, whenever it is resolved to have a new one, the clergy and the people elect him by their votes, and the bishops, alias, *apostles*, themselves having been made in the same manner, consecrate him to his office, by the laying on of their hands!

It is evident that this case of Matthias, even admitting that he was an apostle, does not affect the main question involved in the present discussion. By no ingenuity can it be made to serve as an example for such a succession of apostles as is claimed by our Episcopal brethren.

But, as I have said, I deny that Matthias was an apostle. In my sermon on the office of a bishop, page twenty-nine, I said,—“Matthias, who, through the hasty zeal of Peter, was chosen by lot, to fill the place of Judas, we have no reason to suppose was ever recognized by God, or known in the church as an apostle; and that he never was, is a fair presumption, from the fact, that the *broken number* Christ himself supplied, by the miraculous conversion and consecration of St. Paul.” Upon this, Mr. Schuyler remarks as follows,—see his book, page 132:—“What, my brethren, is the purport and tendency of an assertion like this? An infidel reads it, and what is his conclusion? Why, he replies, *I* will acknowledge the bible, if you will allow me to receive only as much as I conceive to be worthy of inspiration, and reject what seems trifling, or positively erroneous. If I can attribute to *hasty zeal* what I think so, without being obliged,” &c., &c. My good brother can not see the difference between denying that a transaction recorded in the bible was a proper and authorized transaction, and denying the truth of the record. Does he suppose that every act of man, of which an account is given in the scriptures, unaccompanied with a specific declaration of the divine disapproval, was therefore in accordance with the divine will? Does he not know that the narrative portions of the bible profess to be nothing more than truthful narrations? When the infidel

shall believe with me, that the bible, in its preceptive communications is holy and just, in its doctrinal communications true, and in its narrative parts represents every fact exactly as it occurred, then, I think, he will no longer be an infidel. This, however, would not satisfy Mr. Schuyler. He would have the infidel believe, not only that the bible narratives are *true*, but that where there is not a special sentence of divine disapproval expressed, they invariably narrate things that God approved of. If my very sagacious reviewer would be distressed, as I doubt not he would be, at the thought of making infidels, I advise him to be cautious how he recommends such a rule as this, to be applied in judging of the scripture narratives. The scriptures narrate things as they occurred, leaving us, in general, to form our opinions of the propriety or impropriety, the right or wrong of the doings which they record, just as we judge of the propriety or impropriety, the right or wrong of those doings of men, of which we are personally observant in the intercourse of life. The transaction of Matthias' ordination, therefore, unless there is some specific divine declaration to show on its behalf, or some tacit and clearly implied acknowledgment of it, is fairly and legitimately a subject of inquiry, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it was a proper and authorized transaction or not. Now I defy Mr. S., or any other person, to show either a specific divine declaration in favor of what Peter and the other disciples did in this case, or any tacit and implied acknowledgment of Matthias as an apostle. His name does not occur again in the whole New Testament, nor is there, in any place, the slightest allusion to his person, or to the subject of his appointment to the apostolical office. The apostles, I am well aware, are spoken of as *twelve*, previous to the conversion of Paul, as in Acts vi: 2 — "Then *the twelve* called the multitude of the disciples unto them," &c.; and this might seem to make it clear, that Matthias must have been there, not only numbered with the apostles, but acting with them, and taking part fully in their

counsels. But, unfortunately for those who would be pleased with this view of the subject, the apostles are also spoken of as *twelve*, after the fall of Judas, and before the ordination of *Matthias*. See, John xx: 24 — “But Thomas, one of *the twelve*, called Didymus, was not with them.” See also 1 Cor. xv: 5 — “And that he was seen of Cephas, then of *the twelve*.” How is this? *The twelve*, if I may so express myself, was the corporate title of the apostolic college, and the mere use of the term does not necessarily imply that there were actually, at any given time, twelve persons known and acting as apostles.

There is a place in the second chapter of Acts, in the account given of the transactions of the day of Pentecost, which some and among them Mr. Barnes, suppose, does imply that twelve *persons* were then recognized as apostles, and of course that Matthias was one of them. At the fourteenth verse, we read — “But Peter standing up *with the eleven*, lifted up his voice,” etc. But let any one ask himself whether, if no mention had previously been made of Matthias, and the entire record, in the former chapter, of his ordination were wanting, there would seem to be any impropriety of expression in the place we are now looking at. May not the passage be read — But Peter standing up with the *rest of the eleven*, or with *all the eleven*, just as easy and as naturally as in any other way? On what principle can it be assumed, that the necessary reading is — But Peter standing up with the *eleven other apostles*? If the record in the first chapter of Acts were wanting, would the language here suggest a difficulty to any mind? Most assuredly it would not. It is just as fair, therefore, for me to say that my reading of this text is right, and to claim it as proof, that after the descent of the Holy Ghost, Matthias was wholly set aside, and was no more “numbered with the apostles,” as it is for those who differ in opinion to insist that the other reading is right, and that the text proves, that after the descent of the Holy Ghost, the apostleship of Matthias was recognized. The amount is that the place can not be used for proof, either way. On the

point under discussion it establishes nothing. I say again, therefore, that the case of Matthias is fairly open to examination, and Mr. Schuyler's horror at my bold treatment of this so-called apostle, is a mere waste of sensibility.

The facts upon which a judgment, in this case of Matthias, is to be formed, are the following:

First. *The transaction of his appointment is unsupported by any shadow of approving testimony.* Mr. Schuyler himself acknowledges, page 135, that it was a transaction of the utmost importance, inasmuch that, it "would forever give character to the christian church." Again he says, page 137, — "We conceive this transaction itself had the gospel history here closed, would have sufficiently indicated the *purpose* of the great head of the church, as to the perpetuation of the apostolic office." Now we say that a transaction which was intended to hold so high a place of authority as an example, and to have such a far reaching influence, would not have been left without some clear and unequivocal testimony in its favor. We attach no such importance to it as Mr. Schuyler does, yet we attach importance to it, and can not believe, that if God approved of it, he would have left it without some special evidence of his approbation. Mr. Schuyler claims, that the bare record of it by Luke, without a special sentence of condemnation, is such evidence. I say it is not. This is precisely in accordance with the general narrative style of the scriptures. If what he claims in this case must be admitted, we should be compelled on the same principle to admit as right, every other act recorded in the bible which is not specifically pronounced to be wrong. The burden of proof evidently lies with those who claim that the appointment of Matthias was *proper*. It devolves upon them to show a specific declaration,—or at least, a clear implication, out of the narrative itself, in favor of it; and not upon us to show specific declarations or implications against it.

Second. Peter in proposing the appointment of an apostle to supply the place of Judas, *did not act under the inspiration*

of the Holy Ghost, or upon instructions which he had received from Christ. This may appear to be a bold affirmation; but it is susceptible of the amplest and clearest proof. In the address which he made to the disciples, he professed to give his *authority* for the measure which he recommended. If he had had a command from Christ, or if he had been acting under the instant dictation of the Holy Ghost, would he not have said so? Is it credible that he would have passed over, in utter silence, the *very authority*, upon which his proposal was based, and contented himself with simply quoting certain passages from the Psalms? Read his speech.—“Men and brethren, this scripture must needs have been fulfilled, which the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake before concerning Judas, which was guide to them that took Jesus. For he was numbered with us, and had obtained part of this ministry. Now this man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity; and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out; and it was known unto all the dwellers at Jerusalem; insomuch as that field is called in their proper tongue, *Acel-dama*, that is to say, *The field of blood*; for it is written in the book of Psalms, *Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein*; and, his bishopric (*i. e.* charge or office) let another take. Wherefore, of these men, which have companied with us, all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John unto that same day that he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection.” Now I do not ask, Where is the proof that the measure proposed was by command of Christ, or by the instant dictation of the spirit? but I say—*See* the proof that it *was not* by either of these authorities. Remember, Peter was professedly giving his *authority*, and with no intimation of a command from Christ, or of any special direction from the Holy Spirit, he simply quoted two texts out of the Psalms. No proof could be more conclusive that he was following his own judgment merely, in the exposition of

scripture texts which he supposed had reference to the case before him, and authorized the action which he contemplated. Yet Mr. Schuyler, and all other writers of his school, insist upon it, that Peter acted both by command of Christ and by inspiration.

Third. Admitting that the texts quoted by Peter from the Psalms, had a special reference to the case of Judas, and the filling of his place by another, — although we confess we see no special reference, particularly in the first of them — *it cannot be made out from them that the business of filling that place by the appointment of another, was committed to the apostles.* The fact to be considered is, that David merely affirms that the apostate should be destroyed, and that another should take his place, without saying a word to authorize any human beings to interest themselves in selecting the person by whom his office should be taken. Let it not be supposed that we undervalue the authority of scripture texts, or that we suppose there can be any higher authority than a plain *Thus saith the Lord*, found in the written volume of the scriptures. What we affirm, is, that the texts quoted by Peter, whatever they may have meant in regard to Judas and his place in the apostolic college, did not authorize *him, i. e. Peter, and his fellow disciples*, to do what they did in the premises. It is a mere *assumption* that Peter was right in his action merely because he was able to quote those passages from David. In connection with all the evidence there is that the number of apostles was not to exceed *twelve*, let the fact be borne in mind here, that Christ himself soon answered all that was contained in those prophetic declarations of the Psalmist, by the undoubted appointment, to the apostleship, of Saul. Let the difficulties also be considered, in which the admission of Matthias' true apostleship involves the matter of the twelve thrones, and the twelve names in the foundations of the holy city.

Fourth. *This transaction of the appointment of Matthias was previous to the descent of the Holy Ghost, with which the*

apostles were to receive power to engage in their peculiar work. This is the great fact upon which we rely for the settlement of the present question. Other considerations which have been referred to, have weight, and go far to decide a moral certainty, that the act of Peter in this case was ill-advised and unauthorized, but the one now presented we hold to be final and conclusive. Mr. Schuyler has some inklings of the trouble to be apprehended from this quarter, and endeavors, on page 138 of his book, to show that the Holy Ghost *had been received*, quoting John xx: 22 — “And he breathed on them and said, receive ye the Holy Ghost.” Is my brother quite sure that his interpretation of this text is right? *Bloomfield*, whose authority as a commentator, is of the highest kind among Episcopalians, says, on this passage, in his Digest, “When he is said to have *breathed* on them, (enephuse,) we are to understand it as a *symbolical action*, by which he was pleased to introduce and illustrate the promise before made: for *labete pneuma agion*, (receive ye the Holy Ghost,) can only be understood as a *present promise* of a *future benefit* which should very shortly be communicated: namely, on the day of Pentecost. In considering this as no other than a *symbolical action*, all the *best commentators are agreed*.” *Rosenmueller* says, — “*Labete*, — Imperativus pro Futuro; significanter, ut solent prophetæ, certissimum et tamquam præsentem prædictorum eventum promittentes. Itaque illis verbis indicatur, hunc afflatum ipsis *pro symbolo* esse, unde *omen* capere debeant de conferendis in ipsos *propediem* Spiritus S. dotibus, quas morti proximus iis promiserat, ch. xvi.” This is precisely the idea of *Bloomfield*. Mr. *Barnes*, on the same passage, says, “‘*Receive ye the Holy Ghost.*’ This was given them as a certain sign, or pledge, that they *should be* endowed with the influences of the Holy Spirit, — Comp. Acts i: 4, ch. ii.” I might quote any number of commentators of the first class, who all give the same exposition. We say, therefore, on the best human authority, that the Holy Ghost *was not* given to the disciples at this time, but

a significant symbol was afforded them of the future fulfillment of the promise which they had before received. What was the promise which they had before received? See John xvi: 7 — “Nevertheless, I tell you the truth: it is expedient for you *that I go away*: for, if *I go not away*, the Comforter will not come unto you.” The promise was, that the Holy Ghost should come to be with them, *after* he, *i. e.* Christ was *gone away* from earth to heaven, and they were distinctly assured that this promise could not be fulfilled sooner. — “*If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you.*” If Mr. Schuyler is disposed to set his opinion against that of Bloomfield and “all the best commentators,” I trust, that he will at least be satisfied with the authority of Christ. I am persuaded he never examined this text critically. I doubt if his attention was ever, in any measure, directed to it. Still, even if we were inclined to indulge him in the use which he makes of it, and to admit (which we by no means do) that the apostles had received a *measure* of the Holy Ghost, we affirm, nevertheless, that *they had not received the special promise of the Holy Ghost with POWER to enter on the work of their ministry; for which, when our Lord ascended, he commanded them to wait.* See Luke xxiv: 49 — “And behold I send the promise of my Father upon you; but tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem until ye be endued with POWER from on high.” See also Acts i: 4, 5 — “And being assembled with them, commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye have heard of me. For John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost, not many days hence.” Also, the 8th verse — “But ye shall receive POWER, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you; and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.” Will any one say, in the face of these texts, that at the time of the transaction now being considered, the apostles had received that “*promise of the Holy Ghost,*” which

was to qualify them for their ministry? What authority had they then, to engage in the highest of all ministerial acts, — the appointment of a minister? The apostles understood that the command to tarry in Jerusalem until they should receive the promise of the Holy Ghost, was a command not to enter upon the active labors of their ministry until then; for it was with the promise of the Holy Ghost, and not without it, that they were to receive *power*, by which we must understand either *authority* to discharge the functions of their office, or the grace by which they were to be *qualified* for the discharge of them. That they so understood it is evident, from the fact, that with the solitary exception of the transaction now being considered, they *did* abstain from all ministerial acts, until the Spirit was poured out. When our Lord, having given them the charge recited above, had been “taken up,” it is said, “Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the Mount called Olivet;” and from this time up to the very day of Pentecost when the Spirit came, “They continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren,” and they did nothing else, save this one act respecting Matthias.

Now, what was that “*power*” which the apostles were to receive from on high, with the “promise of the Holy Ghost?” I have suggested above, the two only answers which the question admits of. It was either, first, *authority* to enter on their ministerial work, under which supposition they had *no right* to do what they did; or, secondly, it was grace to *qualify* them for their ministerial work, under which supposition they were *incompetent* to engage in it aright. One or the other of these answers must be the right one, and either of them is fatal to the apostleship of Matthias.

It will avail nothing, to say that the apostles had fully received their commission, previous to Christ’s ascension. It is not an unheard of or strange thing, for a commission to be fully issued, and put into the hands of the commissioned

person, days and weeks before it is to take effect, or before the person so commissioned is to enter upon the duties to which he is appointed; and precisely so it was in the case of the apostles. Christ commissioned them, and specified the future time at which they were to begin their work; or rather, he indicated to them a *sign* by which they should know when the time was come. Read the account of their commission in Luke xxiv, ending with the words already quoted — “and behold I send the promise of my father upon you; *but tarry ye in Jerusalem until ye be endued with POWER from on high.*”

The apostles either engaged in the transaction of Matthias' ordination by virtue of authority which they supposed was conferred on them by the commission which they had received from Christ, or they engaged in it as private individuals. If they did it as private individuals, no one will pretend that their action in the premises was justifiable or valid. If they did it under their commission, acting as ministers in the church, it is evident that their action was unauthorized and disorderly, and therefore, of no effect; for the time had not yet come for which they had been commanded to *wait*, and they were without the *power* which it had been promised they should receive.

Did not Luke mean to intimate the impropriety of this transaction, when he said, in proceeding to give his account of it, — “*In those days* Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples,” &c., &c.? In what days? Why, in those days which intervened between the ascension of Christ, and the bestowment on the apostles of the Father's promise, with *power* to engage in their ministry: in those days during which *they had been expressly commanded to wait, and to perform no ministerial acts*. I can not avoid thinking that there is force in the expression of Luke — “*In those days;*” and that he intended by it far more than is commonly supposed.

Finally. It is to be observed that nothing is expressed contrary to our argument, in the words with which Luke ends his

account — “And the lot fell upon Matthias; *and he was numbered with the eleven apostles.*” This is nothing more than the natural continuation and ending of the narrative. Of course, Peter and the rest supposed, when this transaction was concluded, that Matthias was a true apostle, and they counted him accordingly. By no rules of interpretation can this be considered as an affirmation that Matthias *was* an apostle, or that he was *permanently* regarded as one. He was “numbered with the eleven” *then, at that time*, when the unauthorized transaction was finished, which, to those who took part in it, seemed to invest him with apostolic grace.

We simply maintain that Peter, and those who acted with him in the case of Matthias, *misjudged*; and that, intending to do a right and proper thing, they did a wrong thing, and a very foolish thing. We say this, not having the fear of Mr. Schuyler, or of Dr. Shelton, before our eyes, and utterly regardless of the blasts of pious indignation that will probably blow upon us from that quarter for our infidelity. The question is, When did Peter and the rest receive that inspiration and power of the Holy Ghost which were intended to qualify them for their work, by giving them clear and correct views of the gospel, and of the nature, objects, and duties of their own mission? From what point of time are we to regard them as the accredited ministers of Christ, the authoritative agents of his will, and expounders of his religion? That they were not so previous to Christ's death, is evident from the fact that they were continually, during all that period, falling into the grossest mistakes, both of opinion and conduct, in relation to all sorts of subjects. And after our Lord's crucifixion and resurrection, when they acknowledged their disappointment, having supposed that it was he that should have restored the kingdom to Israel, and some of them even could not easily be persuaded that he was risen, according to his word; so late as this, it is undeniable that they were without any of those qualifications which were necessary to give them authority, or to exalt them in any respect

above other good and honest men, if such might have been, who had enjoyed similar advantages. Would there be impiety in saying, that the conduct of Peter and his companions was improper and foolish, at any time previous to their Lord's death, or at the time of it, or during the days which immediately followed? Would there be impiety in expressing the opinion that they sometimes acted *wickedly*? Now, as I have said, the question is, When did they acquire that authority, which eventually they had, as ministers and ambassadors for Christ? After what point of time do their acts and sayings become authoritative and binding on the church? I answer, and who will venture to dispute me, Their authority began *when they received "the promise of the father with POWER,"* on the day of Pentecost. They were "*endued with POWER from on high,*" THEN; and just as really as we are bound by their teachings and doings at any subsequent time, just so really may we, if we choose, question and deny the propriety of what they said and did at any time before.

We have attributed Peter's conduct in the case of Matthias to "hasty zeal."—We do so still. It was just like him to tire of the inaction of those days which preceded the day of Pentecost, and to bethink himself of something by which he might anticipate events, and hurry forward the great enterprise with which his soul was beginning to be fired. The mistake which he made in this instance was characteristic of the man.

We here dismiss the case of Matthias, reminding the reader again, that whatever he may think of the question of this person's apostleship, it is a case which can have no bearing on the present main controversy. It is simply ridiculous for Mr. Schuyler to represent his assumed appointment to the apostolic office as a transaction "that would forever give character to the christian church," and to say, "We conceive this transaction itself, had the gospel history here closed, would have sufficiently indicated the *purpose* of the great head of the church, as to the perpetuation of the apostolic office." Admitting, what we

have shown was not true, that he was a genuine apostle, there is no ground whatever, on which his appointment can be made to appear in the light of a *precedent*; for he was appointed to fill a vacancy in the *duodecimate*, and he did not receive the office by transfer, or communication, but by an immediate divine designation. We ourselves will cheerfully acknowledge the authority of all apostles, we care not what the number of them may be, who can be shown to have received their office in the way that it is pretended Matthias received his. Episcopalians gain nothing, not even for their principle of succession, until they can show that an apostle was appointed, not to fill a place in the original duodecimate, but to fill a *new place*, and that he received his authority from those *who were already apostles*, by virtue of *authority vested in them*.

THE TERM "APOSTLE" APPLIED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT TO OTHERS BESIDES THE TWELVE.

An argument to show that the apostleship was actually transferred, is sometimes sought to be made out of the fact, that in the New Testament, the term "apostle," is actually applied to others, besides the twelve whom all unite in recognizing as invested truly with that office. Thus, Acts xiv: 14, Barnabas is classed with Paul under the same general designation — "Which, when the apostles, Barnabas and Paul heard of," &c., &c. The first epistle to the Thessalonians, which is called "the epistle of Paul," is, in reality, as the salutation shows, the epistle of Paul, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, who, in chapter ii: 6, style themselves in common, "the apostles of Christ." In Philippians ii: 25, Paul says,—"Yet I supposed it necessary to send unto you Epaphroditus, my brother and companion in labor, and fellow-soldier, but your messenger, (*i. e. apostle*, for so the Greek reads,) and he that ministered to my wants." So

also, in 2 Cor. viii: 23, he writes,—“Whether any do inquire of Titus, he is my partner and fellow-helper, concerning you; or our brethren be inquired of, they are the messengers (*apostles*) of the churches, and the glory of Christ.” And again, Rom. xvi: 7,—“Salute Andronicus and Junia, my kinsmen, and my fellow prisoners, who are of note among the apostles.”

The argument, or rather *appeal*, for it is not an argument, founded upon this occasional use of the term “apostle,” has great weight with a certain class of minds. It looks amazingly like a settlement of the question in debate, to find Barnabas, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, and Epaphroditus, and Andronicus, and Junia actually *called* apostles, in the inspired record. When an Episcopal minister, discussing this subject before his congregation, says,—“And now brethren, what more can we desire, when we find it here especially recorded, that Barnabas, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, and Epaphroditus, and others were “*apostles?*” there is no doubt that nine-tenths of those who hear him are ready to say,—“Sure enough; what more can we desire? That settles it.” But all who understand this subject, know that it does *not* settle it; and that so far from settling it, it has nothing to do with it.

The term “*apostle*,” from the Greek word *apostolos*, primarily signifies *one sent*, a *messenger*, and this is always its signification, except in those instances where it is specifically used as the name of an office; and even in those instances, it retains its primary sense, as descriptive of the nature of the office which it names. In the case of the twelve apostles of our Lord, it is the name of their office, descriptive of its general nature; as they were officially, and in distinction from all others, his messengers, sent by him, as he himself was sent of God. Now, it is evidently leaping far to a conclusion, to set it down as a determined fact, that every person to whom the term “apostle” is applied in the New Testament, was therefore, as a matter of course, one of our Lord’s apostles, in the high and official sense of that word. We must always look, where this term

occurs, to see if there was not some special reason for its being applied as we find it, in some special mission upon which the person to whom the title is given was employed. We must inquire whether he was not, or had not been in connection with the application of this term to him, a special messenger of some body, or sent upon some specific errand, or mission, in virtue of which the term "apostolos," is applied to him.

The principle in regard to the use of the name "apostle," for which I am contending, is distinctly stated by Dr. Onderdonk, in his tract, "Episcopacy tested by Scripture," page fourteen: "Another irregularity of the same kind occurs in regard to the word 'elder.' It is sometimes used for a minister or clergyman of any grade, higher, middle, or lower: but it more strictly signifies a presbyter. Many words have both a loose and a specific meaning. The word 'angel' is often loosely applied; but distinctively it means certain created spirits. The word 'God' is applied to angels, and idols, and human personages or magistrates; but distinctively it means the Supreme Being. The word 'deacon' means an ordinary servant, a servant of God in secular affairs, and any minister of Christ; but a christian minister of the lower grade is its specific meaning. So, with the word 'elder;' it is sometimes applied to the clergy of any grade, or grades; but its appropriate application is to ministers of the second or middle order." Dr. O. might have gone on to say, So also, the word "apostle" is applied loosely to messengers of any kind, to persons sent upon any particular mission; but distinctively it belongs to the twelve whom our Saviour commissioned to complete what he had left unfinished of the work of founding and settling his church.

Let us now apply the rule here stated, to the cases that have been cited, in which the term "apostle" is applied to others besides the twelve acknowledged apostles of our Lord.

First. Take the case in Acts xiv: 14, — "Which when the apostles Barnabas and Paul heard of," &c. The question is, were Barnabas and Paul employed at this time on any special

mission, which may account for this manner of speaking of them, independently of supposing that Barnabas was an apostle in the high and official sense of that word? The question is answered by referring back to the first four verses of the thirteenth chapter — “Now there were in the church that was at Antioch certain prophets and teachers; as Barnabas, and Simeon, that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen, which had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch, and Saul. As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, *Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them.* And when they had fasted, and prayed, and laid hands on them, they sent them away. So they, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, departed into Seleucia; and they sailed to Cyprus.”

Barnabas and Paul, therefore, at the time when they are thus called *apostles*, were engaged together in a special missionary service. They had been *sent* together to do a special work. *One* was an apostle in the high and distinctive sense of that word, but in this service *both* of them were *apostoloi*, that is, messengers or missionaries. The case of Barnabas, therefore, is clearly disposed of.

The next case, is that in the first epistle to the Thessalonians, addressed by Paul and Silvanus, and Timotheus, who, in the sixth verse of the second chapter, are styled in common, “apostles of Christ.” It is a peculiarity of this case that the three together are not only styled apostles, but, as if to make it stronger, “*apostles of Christ.*” Now, was there any reason for this, if we reject the idea that Silvanus and Timotheus were really apostles in the high and official sense? When they went to Thessalonica, were they in any special and peculiar manner employed upon an errand for Christ, as his missionaries or messengers? The following quotation from Macknight’s preface to this epistle, affords a sufficient answer: “From the history of the acts of the apostles it appears, that St. Paul first passed into Europe to preach the gospel, after he had

delivered the decrees of the council of Jerusalem (Acts xvi: 4) to the churches in the lesser Asia, whereby the Gentiles were declared free from obeying the law of Moses, as a term of salvation. In the course of that journey, Paul having come to Troas, there appeared to him, in the night, a vision of a man in the habit of a Macedonian, praying them to come over into Macedonia, and help them. In obedience to that call, *which they knew to be from Christ*, the apostle, with his assistants, Silas (which is the same as Silvanus) and Timothy, went first to Philippi, and laid the foundation of a very flourishing church there; after that, they went to Thessalonica, a great seaport town of Macedonia," &c. This is enough. Paul, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, were sent by Christ into Macedonia, on a special mission. *One* was an apostle in the high official and distinctive sense of the word; *all* were Christ's *apostoloi*, that is, messengers or missionaries.

It is contended by some that, in the place referred to, the expression "apostles of Christ" is not used with reference to Silas and Timothy; but that Paul, who evidently was the sole author of the epistle, employed the plural form, according to a common practice with him, in speaking simply of himself. The criticism is not necessary, nor do I think it can be sustained. Paul might speak of himself in the plural, as "*we*" and "*us*," but I do not think he would call himself "the apostles of Christ."

Let the instance in 1 Thess. ii: 6, where the term—"apostle" is so manifestly used in the sense of messenger, or missionary, be compared with Col. i: 1, where it is as manifestly used with its specific meaning, as the name of an office,—"*Paul an apostle of Jesus Christ, by the will of God, and Timotheus our brother.*" Timothy is here very carefully set aside, and the term "apostle" is taken by Paul exclusively to himself. Precisely the same thing may be seen again in 2 Cor. i: 1.

The third case is in Philippians ii: 25 — "Yet I supposed it necessary to send unto you Epaphroditus, my brother and

companion in labor, and fellow-soldier, but your messenger (*i. e.*, apostle), and he that ministered to my wants." In what sense was Epaphroditus the apostle of the Philippians? Episcopalians say, that he was their bishop; that is, that he was over them in the true office of an apostle. So Blackwall, an eminent Episcopal writer, affirms, in commenting on this passage! The whole secret is disclosed in the fourth chapter: Paul tells the Philippians, that they alone of all the churches, since the time of his leaving Macedonia, had contributed to his support. At the sixteenth verse, and onward, he writes as follows: "For even in Thessalonica, ye sent once and again unto my necessity. Not because I desire a gift; but I desire fruit that may abound to your account. But I have all things, and abound; I am full, *having received of Epaphroditus the things which were sent from you.*" Epaphroditus, then, had been sent to Paul by the Philippians with gifts for his support. He was their *messenger*, by whom they communicated with their absent friend. So slight a circumstance does it take to make a successor to the apostles. Macknight says—preface to Philippians, section 11—"The brethren at Philippi having heard of their spiritual father's imprisonment at Rome, sent Epaphroditus, one of their most esteemed pastors, to that city, to comfort him by making known to him their love, and by supplying him with money, that he might want nothing necessary to render his confinement easy." For proof, he refers to chapter iv: 18.

Take again, the case in 2 Cor. viii: 23—"Whether they do inquire of Titus, he is my partner and fellow-helper concerning you: or our brethren be inquired of, they are the messengers (apostles) of the churches, and the glory of Christ." Titus is not one of those who are here called apostles. The term is applied exclusively to certain other persons, whom Paul styles "our brethren." As the shortest method of disposing of this, I give Macknight's paraphrase of the latter portion of the text: "*Or if they inquire concerning our brethren who*

accompany Titus, they are persons *sent by the churches* to go with me to Jerusalem, (verse nineteen,) and by that service they bring glory to Christ."

The last case to be noticed, is that in Rom. xvi: 7, where Andronicus and Junia are said to be "*of note among the apostles.*" This, I have only to say, is wholly perverted, if it is supposed to mean that Andronicus and Junia were *noted* or *distinguished apostles*. It means simply that they were persons in *high esteem with the apostles*, or *well known to them*. Koppe renders the place—"Magna eorum fama est apud apostolos"—*great is their reputation with the apostles*. So Flatt, and Bloomfield, and Rosenmueller, and indeed, with one or two exceptions, every commentator that I have consulted.

There is nothing, therefore, to be made for episcopacy from this fact, respecting the use of the term "apostle," in its application to others besides the twelve.

WERE BARNABAS, SILAS, TIMOTHY, TITUS, ANDRONICUS, JUNIA, AND EPAPHRODITUS APOSTLES ?

These are chiefly the persons, who, it is pretended were first appointed in the apostolic succession. Now, the question is, *Were they apostles?* It is claimed that they were. We ask for the evidences of it. The burden of proof rests of course, with those who maintain the affirmative, and we ask for the *proof*. Is there any record of their call and ordination as apostles? Nothing of the kind. Is the term "apostle," in its high official and distinctive sense, in one solitary instance applied to either of them? Not once. Are they all, or any of them, ever classed with the apostles, as such, in distinction from others, in such a way as to imply sameness of official dignity and station? Never. Is it in proof that they ever pretended to be apostles? Not at all. It is needless of course to ask, whether

they were competent to do the work, which we have shown to be the proper and peculiar work of apostles, as also, whether in any other respect they answer the description necessary to establish their claims to the high dignity which is asserted for them? Not a particle of that proof is furnished, which every reasonable mind must feel to be indispensable in such a case. The fact, which is the very fact to be *proved*,—and to be proved by such evidence as shall set it upon high and undisputed ground,—of a *communication or transfer of the apostolic grace*, is not even *attempted* to be established; but we are asked to believe that these persons were apostles, on the simple ground that they exercised a certain degree of authority in the church, and particularly that they *ordained ministers*. In regard to all of them, not even this degree of proof is furnished. What, for example, are the claims of Epaphroditus? We have examined already the whole scripture proof in his case. The Philippians had sent him to Paul, at Rome, with money for his support, and Paul in writing back his thanks, calls him “your apostle,” *i. e. your messenger*. And Theodoret who lived not far from four hundred years later, when episcopal sentiments had begun extensively to prevail in the church, falling into the same error with modern episcopalians, says, “Epaphroditus was the apostle of the Philippians, because he was entrusted with the episcopal government, as being their bishop. Now *we* know why Epaphroditus was called the apostle of the Philippians, and we can smile at poor Theodoret’s blunder. What are the grounds of claim for Andronicus and Junia? We have seen already the only mention of these persons that is contained in the New Testament. They were of note among the apostles. That is, they were well known and highly esteemed by the apostles. As for Barnabas and Silas, the whole pretension of their apostleship rests upon the simple fact that they traveled with Paul, and assisted him in his missionary labors.

Our episcopal friends make their stand upon the names of Timothy and Titus. These are their strong cases, upon which,

no doubt, they are willing to rest the whole issue of the present controversy. But upon what is the argument for *them* founded? On the powers of government and ordination with which it is said they were invested. But to govern and ordain were not the peculiar prerogatives of the apostleship. We have shown that the work of an apostle, so far as it was peculiar, and distinguished from the work of an ordinary christian minister, was *to bear witness, from personal knowledge, of Christ, his doings, and doctrines, and resurrection from the dead*; and that there is not a shadow of evidence that, to govern the church and ordain ministers, were powers especially, of the apostolic office. We have admitted that these prerogatives did devolve at first, upon those who were apostles, partly from the necessity of the case, because there were none besides to exercise them, and partly from the propriety of the case, because they knew the will of Christ. They were governors, not *in officio*, but *ex officio*; because while they lived they had *Christ's mind*, having been formerly instructed by him, and being then inspired by his spirit. But we utterly deny that their apostolic office essentially included the governorship of the churches, and the power of ordination, and we think we have sustained our denial by proofs that can not be set aside. What is it then to us, in an argument on the question, whether Timothy and Titus were apostles, to be told that they were vested with the powers of government and ordination?

The question concerning a transfer of the apostleship, we consider as settled. It is simply ridiculous to prolong the debate on that point. The only form under which it seems to me possible to continue our discussion, is the following:

Did the apostles set in the churches a class of ministers, superior to presbyters, who, without inheriting what was properly the apostleship, were nevertheless to be, peculiarly and exclusively, their successors in the business of governing? In other words, Did they appoint such a class of ministers as the diocesan bishops of the Episcopal church?

The question is not, Did they ordain other apostles? — we are done with that inquiry. Did they set *prelatic bishops* over the churches?

I am now brought again upon the track of Mr. Schuyler, and I return with pleasure to take up the thread of his argumentation, where I left it. I recall the reader's attention to page fifty-four of his book, where he says — "Here, then, as we have shown, we have the three orders *after* Christ's ascension, viz., apostles, presbyters, and deacons." He proceeds,

"The question now presents itself, to which, of these three orders, was the *ordaining* power committed? That the deacons were not thus empowered is universally admitted. It rests, therefore, between the order indifferently styled in scripture 'elders,' 'presbyters,' or 'bishops,' and another order, distinguished as a higher grade, by the exclusive exercise of *this* and other powers."

Now it must be borne in mind, in order to appreciate Mr. Schuyler's beauties to the full, that he has not even attempted to show that the apostles, as such, were an order in the permanent ministry, and, that we have demonstrated that they were not.

"We readily admit," he goes on to say, "that the name of 'bishop,' which we now appropriate to the highest grade, is used in the bible, as importing the same office with 'elder' or 'presbyter;' but the *name* is of no moment — we are seeking for the FACT, whether there is more than one grade of officers in the christian ministry; I care not by what name you may call them."

We will not dispute with our author here. We are quite willing that he should look for the FACT that he is in search of, being perfectly certain that his search will be fruitless. And yet this matter of *names* does not seem to us to be so entirely a matter of indifference. It is, at least, of importance in aiding us to understand the apostolic fathers when they write about "bishops:" because nothing is more natural than to suppose,

seeing that the term "bishop" had a fixed meaning with the writers of the New Testament, that the writers, in the times immediately following, would use it in the same sense. What we object to, on the part of our Episcopal friends, is, that they should so curl their lips, (I had almost used a less decorous figure, borrowed from the next superior organ,) at the name, "bishop," occurring in the writings of the apostles, and attach such measureless importance to it in the writings of the early fathers, some of whom were on the stage, before the last of the apostles had disappeared. Theodoret's assertion, quoted by our author on page fifty-six, we take for what it is worth, judging of him, by his belief in the apostleship of Epaphroditus. Theodoret was evidently a believer in some kind of a prelate succession from the apostles, having caught the infection which, in his time, had spread itself so widely in the churches. — But after all, what is the amount of his testimony? Simply this: that "in process of time," the name *apostle* was dropped, and the name *bishop* substituted for it, as the name of those, who, it is pretended, received the apostles' office. This we know as well without Theodoret's testimony as with it; and as his testimony was not recorded until that had taken place which we know of from other sources, it is just as good as no authority at all, on which to claim, that while the word "bishop" in the New Testament always means *pastor* or *presbyter*, it means *prelate* the very moment we find it used in other and later writings.

On this subject of names, our author furnishes, on page fifty-five, a very striking and apposite witticism, from "that distinguished writer and masterly controversialist, Charles Leslie," which I could have no object in disturbing. The same may be said, also, of another very *stale* jest, apparently supposed to be original, on the analogy of the words *presbyter* and *alderman*. Before leaving this subject of names, I would ask our author, what advantage he hopes to derive from the bald quotation, commencing at the bottom of page fifty-six, from

Isadore, a cotemporary of Theodoret? — “The bishops succeeded the apostles. They were constituted through the whole world, in place of the apostles.” Does he not know that this is precisely the Presbyterian doctrine? I have no means of consulting *Isadore*, and can not tell whether he used the word “bishops,” in the scriptural sense or not. If he used it in the prelatie sense, which it gradually acquired as Episcopal corruption spread itself, according to Theodoret, “in the process of time,” why then *Isadore* was a prelatist, and spoke as a prelatist; but if he used it in the scriptural sense, then he but affirmed what we maintain to be the scriptural doctrine, and what all Presbyterians believe: that the bishops, or elders, or presbyters, succeeded to the apostles, and were constituted through the whole world in their place. We believe that the apostles constituted *pastors* in all the churches, and, that when they died and went to heaven, they left the churches wholly in their care. Whatever *Isadore* *meant*, which I am not able to determine, he *wrote*, in this instance, like a man well versed in the scriptures.

Mr. Schuyler is now approaching the present essential point in debate between us. He says, page fifty-seven:

“And that these apostles and their successors, who were afterward called bishops, were the only persons empowered to govern the church and ordain, can be clearly shown from the epistles to Timothy and Titus.”

WAS TIMOTHY PRELATIC BISHOP OF EPHESUS?

Our author may state his argument. He says, page fifty-seven, and onward,

“It must be evident to any diligent reader of the epistle to Timothy, that *one* leading design was, to instruct him in the proper discharge of his episcopal duties: hence in the very opening of the epistle we find these words: ‘I besought thee to

remain still at Ephesus, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine.' Here, then, is an express declaration, that Timothy was to exercise discipline over those in the church of Ephesus who were appointed to minister and to teach. He then proceeds to enumerate the necessary qualifications of bishops or elders, and deacons in the church, and in the same connection, adds—'These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly; but if I tarry too long, that thou mayest know how to behave thyself in the church of God'—an expression which surely can not be construed of personal deportment in the public worship of the sanctuary; for no one can doubt that Timothy had piety and intelligence enough to teach him to conduct properly there. It must, therefore, refer to the proper discharge of those episcopal duties which St. Paul had just enumerated in the preceding verses, viz., his care in the choice of proper persons for the offices of presbyters and deacons: and this clearly indicates that he was invested with episcopal authority. Toward the close of this epistle we find more specific directions: 'Rebuke not an elder, but entreat him as a father.' 'Against an elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses'—thus showing, that to Timothy was committed the power of judging and pronouncing sentence upon the elders. Well might his compeers, (the elders,) if they were his compeers, and ministers with like authority, indignantly rebuke his presumption, saying, 'Man, who made thee a judge over us.' But we hear of no such rebellion.

"And in the second epistle, which was written only a short time before St. Paul's death, and while a prisoner at Rome, bequeathing it as a dying legacy to his son Timothy, he does not neglect to instruct him as to the government of the church. From this epistle it appears clearly, that the power to ordain was committed *singly* to Timothy. He expressly charges him, 'lay hands suddenly on no man.'—And again, 'The things that thou hast heard of me, among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others

also.' These epistles were both written after St. Paul had called the elders of Ephesus together at Miletus, and given *them* instructions as to the proper discharge of their ministerial duties. I wish you to examine these instructions at your leisure, brethren, and to see if you can find any authority given to *one*, or *any* of these elders, such as we have shown given to Timothy, to *exercise discipline over the clergy*, or to *ordain*. The passage to which I refer, will be found in Acts xx, beginning at the eighteenth verse.

"But — as we have clearly shown — the right to exercise *discipline* and to *ordain* was given to *Timothy*, and as we have stated, *after* St. Paul's instructions to the elders at Miletus; Timothy was sent to *them* to exercise this authority over them. *Here, then, we have the diocese of Ephesus, with many pastors over their respective churches, and an apostolic bishop entrusted with the general supervision, and alone authorized to exercise discipline and ordain.*"

It is gratifying to have the Episcopal claim for Timothy set out in a clear and unambiguous light. Our author is aware, I presume, that some very distinguished writers of his church, in England, have maintained that Timothy was *archbishop* of Ephesus, and some, that he was even *primate* of all pro-consular Asia. But as Episcopalians in this country have nothing to do with archbishoprics and primacies, it could hardly be expected that an American writer's fancy would soar to such lofty things. The simple question for this longitude is, "Was Timothy *prelatic bishop* of Ephesus?"

Mr. Schuyler seems very confident that he has established the affirmative. It is really refreshing to contemplate the huge satisfaction with which he announces his conclusion — "*Here, then, we have the diocese of Ephesus,*" &c. &c.!

Let us briefly examine the premises from which his conclusion is derived. His points, as nearly as I can arrive at them by a careful analysis, are the following:

First. "Timothy was to exercise discipline over those in the church of Ephesus, who were appointed to minister and teach." He was "to exercise discipline over the clergy."

Second. Timothy was to attend to the "choice of proper persons for the offices of presbyters and deacons," which "clearly indicates that he was invested with episcopal authority."

Third. "The power to *ordain* was committed *singly* to Timothy."

Fourth. "The right to exercise *discipline* and *ordain* was given to Timothy — *after* St. Paul's instructions to the elders at Miletus, Timothy was sent to *them* to exercise this authority over *them*."

First. "*Timothy was to exercise discipline over those in the church of Ephesus who were appointed to minister and teach.*" He was "*to exercise discipline over the clergy.*" The proof of this proposition our author finds in the first epistle i: 3 — "As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia, *that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine.*" "Here, then," he says, commenting on this text, "*is an express declaration, that Timothy was to exercise discipline over those in the church of Ephesus who were appointed,*" &c. &c. Now where does he learn that the *exercise of discipline* was involved in the duty enjoined in this place, on Timothy? And where does he learn, that those whom Timothy was to charge not to teach any other doctrine, were persons who had been *appointed to minister and teach?*" Where does he learn, that they were "*the clergy?*" All is assumption — without reason or authority. It is not known, and can not be, who those false teachers were. Macknight and others say merely, that they were probably *Judaizers*, *i. e.*, persons who insisted that the Gentile converts should be circumcised, &c. &c., in conformity with the Jewish law. — These, Timothy was to *charge*. The word in the original, *paraggeiles*, Mr. Barnes says, "seems to mean more than is commonly implied by the word as used by us. If it had been a single

direction or command, it might have been given by Paul himself before he left, but it seems rather to refer to that *continuous instruction* which would *convince* those various errorists, and lead them to inculcate only the true doctrine." Does Mr. Schuyler suppose that false doctrine can be taught only by "the clergy?" or, that a charge given to errorists to abstain from inculcating their false doctrines, must of necessity be an *episcopal charge*?

Second. *Timothy was to attend to the "choice of proper persons for the offices of presbyters and deacons," which "clearly indicates that he was invested with episcopal authority."* Has Mr. Schuyler proved, or attempted to prove, that Timothy was invested with any *exclusive powers* relating to the choice of persons for the presbyterial and diaconal offices? He has not. In regard to the question of *exclusive authority*, we shall speak in another place. We do not deny that Timothy had committed to him, for the time being, the general direction and supervision of the church at Ephesus, or that Paul in the third chapter of the first epistle, is giving him instructions for the proper arranging and settling of its affairs. We simply deny here, the soundness of Mr. Schuyler's conclusion,—that Timothy must therefore have been "*invested with episcopal authority*,"—i. e. that he must have been *prelatic bishop* of Ephesus.

The apostle having stated the proper qualifications of bishops and deacons, says,—“These things I write unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly; but if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how to behave thyself in the house of God.” Our author might have saved the labor of his very profound criticism on the words “that thou mightest know how to behave thyself in the house of God.” His own people may have been edified—I know not who else could be—by being told that Timothy was not written to now as a child, to instruct him how he should behave in meeting; undoubtedly, Paul was giving him directions for the management of ecclesiastical

affairs,—Who ever supposed otherwise? What then? Does it follow that Timothy was an Episcopal bishop? The only explanation which the words just quoted admit of, is the following: Paul tells Timothy that he writes him these instructions, not supposing that it was absolutely necessary for him to do so, because he hoped shortly to return to Ephesus, and take charge of things himself, personally; yet he writes them to make sure that if, contrary to his expectations, his return should be long delayed, he, *i. e.* Timothy would know how to demean himself, and to do in a proper manner the things which the welfare of the church required to be done. Nothing could be plainer than it is from this, that Timothy's superintendence at Ephesus was to cease whenever Paul should return there. The responsibility at present devolving upon him was temporary and accidental, owing to the apostle's sudden and premature departure. On the passage now under consideration, Mr. Barnes says, in his notes,—“*These things I write unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly.*” “That is, he hoped to come there to give instructions personally, or to finish, himself, the work which he had commenced in Ephesus, and which had been interrupted by his being driven away so unexpectedly. This verse PROVES that the apostle Paul did not regard Timothy as the permanent diocesan bishop of Ephesus. Would any Episcopal bishop write this to another bishop? If Timothy had been the permanent prelate of Ephesus, would Paul have intimated that he expected soon to come and take the work of completing the arrangements there into his own hands?”

Let the reader look at other evidence, that Timothy's charge at Ephesus was temporary and accidental. Be it remembered, the claim is, that he was properly and specifically *bishop of Ephesus*. Ephesus, therefore, was *his field*. He was not simply a casual and occasional laborer there, but that was his appropriate and peculiar charge. There were his duties and responsibilities, and there he was bound by his office to be, and to abide. See how this view of the subject corresponds with

what Paul says to him, in the opening of the first epistle,—“Unto Timothy my son, * * * *as I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia*, that thou mightest charge some,” &c. Now, how came Timothy to be at Ephesus at all, when this epistle was written? Was it because that was his *home*? Was it because his special and appropriate duties were there? Was it because he was *bishop* of Ephesus, and therefore under official obligations to be there? Not in the least. He was in Ephesus at the *earnest solicitation of Paul*. He and the apostle had been there in company; and, when a difficulty arose, which made it necessary for the apostle to leave, Timothy would have left also,—as little bound to the place as Paul himself. He desired and proposed to leave. If not, why did Paul beseech him to remain? And he remained simply and only to gratify Paul’s wishes. Does this look as though Timothy was bishop of Ephesus? What! must the bishop of Ephesus be induced to remain in his own diocese only by earnest entreaties, and this, too, at a time when his presence there was most especially needful, on account of the prevalence of dangerous heresies, and the busy efforts of false teachers? Incredible! We can not think so ill of Timothy. And for what purpose was Timothy besought by Paul to remain at Ephesus? Was it not for a specific service, to repress heresy, and to prosecute the apostle’s own unfinished work? —“I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some that they teach no other doctrine.” If Timothy was bishop of Ephesus, why did not Paul say that he besought him to remain there, because it was right and proper that he should do so, to perform the duties of his episcopal office? There was a special work to be done; a special exigency required the presence in that city of some one, who would be likely to command respect, and whose name would carry the weight of authority with it. Those false teachers particularly were to be silenced; and Timothy, as one who had enjoyed singular advantages, having

associated much with the apostles, and whose reputation for piety and wisdom was well established, was besought by Paul to remain, and do what he could, to settle and harmonize the disturbed affairs of the church.

It is plain, furthermore, that neither Paul nor Timothy himself had any idea that this was to be the *permanent residence* of the latter. "I besought thee to abide *still* at Ephesus." That is *simply*, and upon no possible construction can it be made to mean more, *not to leave with me, but to remain longer* — leaving the expression of the *time* indefinite, yet implying, as clearly as it could be implied, that it was to be only for a season. That, as a fact, Timothy did not remain permanently at Ephesus, will be noticed hereafter.

Third. "*The power to ordain was committed singly to Timothy.*" What are our author's proofs of this? He says, — "From this epistle (*the second*) it appears clearly, that the power to ordain was committed *singly* to Timothy. He (Paul) expressly charges *him* — "lay hands suddenly on no man." And again — "The things that *thou* hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit *thou* to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also." These texts barely quoted, compose the sum total of his argument. It may seem to be a matter of small moment, whether the charge to "lay hands suddenly on no man," is found in the first epistle or the second; yet, for the truth's sake, and for another important reason that will be seen hereafter, I choose to inform the reader, if indeed he needs to be informed, that it is in the *first* epistle, at the twenty-second verse of the fifth chapter. The second epistle does not contain a syllable on the subject of ordination, or of any other of the so-called episcopal powers. There is not a word in it, which Mr. Schuyler himself could possibly regard as inappropriate to be addressed to any minister of the gospel. — "*The things that thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men who shall be able to teach others also.*" Can it be possible that my brother regards this passage as

relating to the ordination of ministers? I think he may easily be satisfied that it has no such reference. In what manner had Timothy received the things spoken of, which he was to commit to faithful (*i. e.* pious or believing) men? Had he received them by his *ordination*? No; by *hearing* them of Paul. "*The things which thou hast heard of me, the same commit thou,*" &c., &c. In what manner were those to whom Timothy should commit them, to hand them down to their successors? By *ordaining* their successors? No; by *teaching* them, as Paul had taught Timothy,—"*The same commit thou unto faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also.*" Now what was it to *commit*? Was it to ordain to the ministry? He is but a poor expositor of the bible who thinks so. The subject of the text under consideration is *teaching*, and not *ordination*; teaching, I suppose, with special reference to qualifying for the gospel ministry, which I believe is not regarded as one of the peculiar functions of prelates. The best commentators sustain this exposition. In so plain a case, time need not be consumed with quotations. Mr. Schuyler's argument from the *second* epistle must, I think, be admitted to be a failure.

Fourth. "*The right to exercise discipline and to ordain, was given to Timothy after St. Paul's instructions to the elders at Miletus; Timothy was sent to them to exercise this authority over them.*"

This our author affirms, on the ground of his assertion that "These epistles (*i. e.* the two to Timothy) were *both* written after St. Paul had called the *elders* of Ephesus together at Miletus, and had given *them* instructions," &c., &c. He is mistaken. The *first* epistle, which alone contains any thing on the subjects of discipline and ordination, was written *before* the interview of Paul with the elders, at Miletus. *Townsend*, in his chronological arrangement of the bible, assigns this epistle to the year A. D. 56–7, and the interview with the elders, to A. D. 58. *Lardner* — Works, vol. 6, page 21, — Lond. — says,

“The first epistle to Timothy was written in the year A. D. 56, and probably some good while before the end of it.” The reasons for this opinion he gives at length, assigning the interview at Miletus to the year fifty-eight. Respecting the date of the latter event, all chronologists are agreed. In regard to the relative dates of this epistle and the interview at Miletus, *Light-foot* takes the same view. So also *Hale*,—see *Hale’s Chronology*, vol. 5, p. 429, Lond. So also *Michaelis* and Dr. *Benson*,—see *Michaelis’ Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. 4, p. 75, Lond.

Hug says, see his *Introduction to the New Testament*, Andover edition, p. 534 —“Paul went from Ephesus to Macedonia, leaving Timothy behind him, (1 Tim. i: 3,) and soon after wrote this epistle. The apostle was at Ephesus twice; on which occasion did this occur?”

“After his first visit to this city, — Acts xviii: 19 – 23, — he went to Jerusalem; and the departure to Macedonia, mentioned in this epistle, could not have taken place then. The other visit to Ephesus is related in Acts xix: 1 – 41. After a long residence here, he was obliged to leave the city, on account of an uproar; and then *departed to go into Macedonia*. — Acts xx: 1, seq. The epistle was written on this occasion, between the first and the second to the Corinthians.

“To suppose, for the purpose of this epistle, a later visit of the apostle to Ephesus, in addition to the two mentioned in the Acts, — one undertaken, perhaps, after his imprisonment at Rome, — is forbidden by the circumstances. Among other things lying at the foundation of this epistle, is the fact, *that the teachers and elders of the church, who should conduct its affairs, had not yet been appointed*. Now, a few months after, when Paul returned to Asia from his Macedonian journey, this had been done; as he sent for the elders from Ephesus to Miletus, that he might see them in their new calling, and represent and enforce the duties of the office they had assumed. — Acts xx: 17–28 seq. *The epistle must, therefore, have preceded this occurrence.*”

Authorities of a similar character might be quoted to almost any extent. Dr. John Mason, in his book on Episcopacy, says, page 199 — “This first epistle was written when Paul was at Macedonia, as *the learned, both new and old, Papists and Protestants, agree*. And it was after this, when Paul came to Miletum, accompanied with Timothy, and sends for the elders of the church of Ephesus.”

I know that Pearson, and Whitby, and Mill, have taken a different view of this subject, but their authority is nothing in opposition to that which I have given. If any minor fact in scripture chronology may be regarded as *settled*, this fact may be; and yet our learned and most candid author says, without qualification, and without a word of comment, that “*both* these epistles were written *after* St. Paul had called the elders of Ephesus together at Miletus!” and upon this fact rests one of his main arguments for the episcopate of Timothy! He says, “Timothy was sent to *them*, (*i. e.* the elders,) to exercise this authority (or discipline) over *them*.” Now the truth is, as *Hug* affirms in the above extract, that, when the first epistle was written to Timothy, “the teachers and elders of the church at Ephesus, who should conduct its affairs, *had not yet been appointed*.” Let it be observed, in connection with this, that the second epistle, which *was* written after teachers and elders had been appointed at Ephesus, contains not one word on the subject of discipline, or of any, so-called, episcopal power, and the worth of our author’s statement appears in a proper and conspicuous light. Says Dr. Mason:

“If Timothy was bishop of Ephesus, it must have been when the first epistle was written. For it is that epistle, in which he is said to receive his pretended charge, of exercising his episcopal power in ordination and jurisdiction. But now, this first epistle was written when Paul was at Macedonia; as the learned, both new and old, Papists and Protestants, agree. And it was *after* this, when Paul came to Miletum, accompanied with Timothy, and sends for the elders of the church of

Ephesus unto him, and commends the government of the church unto these elders — whom he calls *bishops*. Now surely, if Timothy had been constituted their bishop, (in the sense of our adversaries,) the apostle would not have called the elders, *bishops*, before their bishop's face; and, instead of giving a charge to the elders, to feed the flock of Christ, he would have given that charge to Timothy, and not to them; and, no doubt, he would have given some directions to the elders how to carry themselves toward their bishop. And, because none of these things were done, it is a clear demonstration, to us, that Timothy was not, at that time, bishop of Ephesus."

Suppose we were to admit that the first epistle to Timothy was written *after* the interview of Paul with the elders at Miletus, and that the Ephesian church was fully supplied with elders and teachers at the very time that Timothy received all these directions concerning the exercise of discipline and ordination — what then? would it follow that all this authority, appertained to him *singly*? On this false assumption, which now for argument's sake, we are willing to allow, connected with the fact that Paul's epistle was addressed to Timothy, and not to the elders, and that whatever he says, he says to *him*, and not to *them*, using the pronouns *thee* and *thou*, our author constructs his entire argument for Timothy's exclusive jurisdiction and power. Timothy alone is addressed by name; therefore, he concludes, Timothy alone was to do the things concerning which the apostle wrote. On the broad ground of such a demonstration as this, he claims, according to an amusing habit in which he constantly indulges, to "*have clearly shown*" that Timothy possessed all the powers of a true episcopacy, or, in his own words, with his own italics, that "The right to exercise *discipline* and *ordain* was given to *Timothy* — *after* St. Paul's instructions to the elders at Miletus," and that "Timothy was sent to *them*, to exercise this authority over *them*."

The force and pertinency of the argument may be illustrated in a very simple manner. Suppose that bishop Delancy were

to write a letter to Mr. Schuyler, and among other things, to say — “I charge *thee*, my dear son, to be very zealous in *thy* work of preaching the gospel and administering the sacraments in Buffalo. Remember that *thou* art not to give the sacred memorials of thy Lord to any that walk disorderly,” &c. On the principle of our author’s reasoning, might it not be maintained from this letter, that he alone has the right to preach and administer the sacraments in Buffalo? Does not the bishop expressly charge *him*? Does he not say *thee*, and *thou*, to the heart’s content of any one most ambitious for my friend’s elevation? Dr. Shelton and Mr. Ingersoll, in such a case as this, would surely find it necessary to look after their commissions.

Admitting every thing that our author desires, in regard to the date of this epistle, it would be simply absurd to say, that the style of it, as addressed personally to Timothy, proves that he alone possessed the powers, in regard to the exercise of which the epistle gives directions. We do not in the least doubt, that while Timothy remained at Ephesus, whether before or after the ordination of elders, he was the *head man*, and exercised, in relation to all ecclesiastical affairs, a controlling influence. His experience and wisdom, to say nothing of the authority he derived from being especially employed as an assistant of the apostles, is sufficient to account for this, without supposing any thing more. It was eminently proper, therefore, that *he* should be particularly instructed in regard to all matters relating to the welfare of the church; and the fact of his being so instructed does not conflict in the slightest degree with the idea, that, in all authoritative transactions, others participated with him, as officially his equals.

But our author lays great stress upon what he calls “the instructions to the elders.” He says — “I wish you to examine these instructions at your leisure, brethren, and see if you can find any authority given to *one* or *any* of these elders, such as we have shown given to Timothy, to *exercise discipline over the clergy*, and to *ordain*.”

Now, of course, whatever importance this argument derives from the supposition that Paul's interview with the elders took place before the first epistle to Timothy was written, is gone — for the supposition is false. But even allowing the supposition to be true, what ground does our author find here for denying that the elders participated in all the duties and powers which are claimed for Timothy? The argument is, that no mention is made of any such matters in the address which Paul delivered to them on that occasion. But what was the nature of that address? We affirm that it was in no respect whatever such as Mr. Schuyler seems resolved upon regarding it. He calls it, "*St. Paul's instructions to the elders*" — as though it were professedly a programme of their powers and duties. Let any one turn to the place, in Acts xx, which is too long to be quoted, and read from the eighteenth verse, and then decide for himself whether it was intended as an instructive discourse to the elders on the powers and duties of their office, or as a *mere farewell, and parting exhortation*. Almost the whole of it is taken up with the apostle's account of his own labors and trials, of what he had already suffered, and what he expected yet to suffer, in the service of his divine Master, with affectionate assurances of his love, and commendations of them and their cause to God. Of the eighteen verses in which the whole speech is found, only one has any thing — and that of the most general character — on the subject of their duties, save a single exhortation afterward to *watch*, and a passing allusion to the matter of making suitable provision for the poor. Yet these are the *instructions to the elders!* and my brother Schuyler, and all Episcopal writers, insist that we shall look to this place for a complete list of all the functions of the presbyterial office! It is just such an absurdity as we are having specimens of, *ad nauseam*, in all our controversy with this school of theologians. The famous instructions of St. Paul to the Ephesian elders, of which we hear so much, turn out, on the slightest examination, to be no instructions at all, in any proper sense of that word.

What, in any case, therefore, is gained toward determining that the whole right to *exercise discipline* and to *ordain* at Ephesus, was committed to Timothy, by comparing the epistles that were written to him with this address of Paul to the elders?

If, however, we should consent to take our author's view of what he calls *the instructions*, let a fair exposition be made of Paul's words in the twenty-eighth verse, and what do our Episcopal brethren gain? — "*Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, (episcopous, bishops,) to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.*" If they had been made OVERSEERS, BISHOPS of the flock or church of God, by the Holy Ghost, we should like to know who, except God himself, was really above them? Let the place be pointed out, in the epistles to Timothy, in which a term of higher dignity, or one implying superior jurisdiction, is applied to *him*.

In every point, Mr. Schuyler's argument is a failure. I am sure I do not speak extravagantly, when I say, that he has made out absolutely *nothing*. He does not present a single plea for Timothy's episcopate, which can bear examination for a moment.

He talks of powers *given* to Timothy to exercise discipline and to ordain, at Ephesus, *after* the interview of Paul with the elders at Miletus — it is simply ridiculous. Timothy exercised at Ephesus no powers, which he might not have exercised just as freely at Corinth, or at Rome. Let the reader consider for himself, the words with which Paul's first epistle to him begins: "*Paul — unto Timothy, my son in the faith — as I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some, that they teach no other doctrine, neither give heed to fables,*" &c., &c. Now, did the apostle ordain Timothy to a new office there, or did he leave him to exercise an office which he already had? What allusion is there to the subject of new powers? If Paul had made Timothy *bishop*, for the permanent government of the Ephesian

church, why does he not say so? or, at least, why does he not say something from which that fact might be inferred? Why does he content himself with saying merely — “I besought thee to *abide still at Ephesus?*” The inference is irresistible, that Timothy remained at Ephesus with no change in his official character, simply to exercise an office which he previously had, and to perform duties, to which, by virtue of that office, he was perfectly competent, and which he might have performed in any other place just as well as there.

What was Timothy? He was an *evangelist*. See second epistle iv: 5, — “But watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, *do the work of an evangelist*; make full proof of thy ministry.” What were evangelists? They were a class of extraordinary ministers in the early church, who seem to have been employed chiefly as aids or assistants of the apostles in their missionary labors,—who were sent here and there to transact important business, which the apostles, being so few in number, were unable to attend to in person. They are mentioned by Paul, Eph. iv: 11, in a distinct enumeration which he makes of the different classes of persons then employed in the ministry of the church — “And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, *evangelists*; and some pastors and teachers.” I suppose that they were elders, whom the apostles had called in the exigency of the times, to a more general and responsible work than that of permanently superintending single congregations. They were companions of the apostles in their travels,—as it is well known that Timothy and Silas were of Paul for a great length of time. Sometimes they were sent or went *alone* into unevangelized regions, to preach the gospel and lay the foundations of churches.—Thus Philip went down to Samaria. Sometimes they went before, as in this case of Philip, and were succeeded by the apostles. At other times they came after, entering into the apostles’ labors,—as in the case of Apollos, of whom Paul says, in one place, “I have planted, Apollos watered.” It often happened, that an apostle, traveling with

an evangelist, would leave him behind for a season, more perfectly to organize and settle the churches in a particular region or city, while he himself passed on to other fields. Thus, when Paul could no longer remain at Ephesus, he besought Timothy to abide there still; and when he departed from Crete,—Tit. i: 5,—he left Titus in that island to set in order the things that were wanting, and to ordain elders in every city. Evangelists, thus employed by the apostles as their special assistants, seem to have been regarded as very nearly equal to the apostles in authority. Apostles they were not; but in very many respects they acted in the place of apostles, and performed what was considered apostolic work. “Hence,” says Dr. John Brown, of Edinburgh, “while they are described by Tertullian as ‘apostolic men,’—Lib. 4, Advers. Mar.—and by Jerome, as ‘the sons of the apostles,’—Comment. in Isa. ch. 65,—Augustine designates them very happily, by a most expressive name, signifying literally, ‘The substitutes of the apostles who were almost equal to them,’—Sermon 46, de tempore.” “Sometimes,” says Dr. B., “as in the case of Timothy, they appear to have received an immediate and supernatural call; for Paul refers to ‘prophecies which went before respecting him;’ intimating, probably, that it was the specially revealed will of God, that he should be appointed to this office, as the Holy Ghost said to the prophets and teachers at Antioch, ‘Separate me Barnabas and Paul for the work whereunto I have called them!’ We know, too, that they were endowed with the power of working miracles,—Acts viii: 6,—8,—and it is probable also, according to the admission of Bilson, a famous advocate of the episcopates of Titus and Timothy, that they had these two (other) gifts, the revealing of secrets, and discerning of spirits, (though in lesser measure than the apostles,) which served chiefly to distinguish who were fit or unfit for the service of Christ’s church.”

Eusebius says, respecting evangelists,—book iii: chap. 37,—that they were disciples of the apostles, “Who everywhere built upon the foundations which the apostles had laid; preaching

the gospel, and scattering the salutary seeds of the kingdom of heaven over the face of the earth. And moreover, very many of the disciples of that day traveled abroad, and performed the work of *evangelists*; ardently desirous of preaching Christ to those who were yet wholly unacquainted with the doctrine of faith, and to deliver to them the scripture of the divine gospels. *These having merely laid the foundations of the faith, and ordained other pastors, committed to them the cultivation of the churches newly planted, while they themselves, supported by the grace and co-operation of God, proceeded to other countries and nations."*

Let it be observed, that Eusebius says distinctly, that *evangelists founded churches, and ordained pastors over them*; — which is precisely the work that we say evangelists might do, and did do, by virtue of their evangelistic office.

Now, that Timothy labored at Ephesus as an evangelist, and not as episcopal bishop, is perfectly evident: First, from the fact that Paul especially charges him, "*to do the work of an evangelist*" there. Second, from the fact, already noticed, that he was only induced to remain there by the earnest entreaties of Paul,—which is entirely consistent with the idea of his being an evangelist, whose field was the world: but wholly at variance with that of his being a bishop in the episcopal sense,—whose field is his own diocese. It is evident, thirdly, from the similar fact, that Paul afterward directed him to leave Ephesus and come to Rome,—2 Tim. iv: 9,—to be his companion and assistant in that city, in the place of some who had forsaken him. Would Paul, in such a case as this, send for an installed bishop of a large and important diocese, and call him away from his own special charge? If Timothy was an evangelist, there is nothing strange in this; but regarding him in the other character, Paul's conduct is certainly most inexplicable. These facts of the case are perfectly conclusive against the pretended Ephesian episcopate.

I may add, it is extremely unfortunate for the claim of our Episcopal friends, that Paul should so distinctly have recognized the true episcopal jurisdiction of the elders in his address to them at Miletus. We care not much, so far as our main argument is concerned, whether the first epistle to Timothy was written *before* or *after* that interview with the elders. If *after*, then the church at Ephesus was well supplied with bishops, and could hardly need another so very soon, the time being probably less than one year. If *before*, it was, to say the least, not very respectful to Timothy to apply his title to all the inferior clergy.

I have something more to say in regard to Timothy, which, as it is equally applicable to the case of Titus, may be reserved, and said of both at once.

WAS TITUS PRELATIC BISHOP OF CRETE?

Mr. Schuyler says, on page sixty,—“The epistle to Titus is alike clear and explicit on this point. The care of all the churches in the island of Crete, was committed by St. Paul to Titus. It is a well known historical fact, that at this time there were an hundred cities in this island; truly an extensive diocese, demanding apostolic energy and zeal. But to Titus alone was the power to govern the church there, and ordain elders committed. In the opening of this epistle, St. Paul writes,—‘For this cause left I THEE in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain *elders* in every city, as I had appointed thee.’ Upon this verse it has been asked,—Dr. Thompson’s sermon, page thirty,—‘If Titus was an apostle, how did it happen that he appears in this place so entirely subject to Paul, whose equal in that case he must have been?’ We say in answer, that it is evident from the passage itself, that Titus was St. Paul’s equal, inasmuch as he was to *perfect* the work St. Paul had *commenced*, and to *ordain elders*

where they were wanting. St. Paul could have done no more. He had, it is true, been set apart to that particular field by St. Paul; but he went there with all the powers of an apostle. St. Paul, further on in the epistle, proceeds to instruct him as to the qualifications of those to be ordained, with a particular charge to banish heresy,—‘a man that is an heretic after the first and second admonition, reject.’”

When Mr. Schuyler presents this as an argument to show that Titus was prelatie bishop of Crete, if I did not know the contrary, I should certainly suppose him to be indulging in mere drollery.

The first plea here for the Cretian episcopate of Titus, is the extent and populousness of the island. We reply, that the labors of evangelists were never confined to particular congregations, but always extended over entire regions and countries.

The second is founded on the words of Paul,—“For this cause left I **THEE** in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee.”

We reply, that the words, “for this cause left I **THEE** in Crete,” even though the word “thee” had been put in capitals by Paul himself, would not upon any fair construction, be equivalent to,—*for this cause I ordained thee bishop of Crete;*• or, *for this cause I installed thee into the Cretian episcopate.* It is very similar to Paul’s beseeching Timothy to “abide still at Ephesus.” It seems to me to be the common sense view of this, to suppose that when Paul could no longer remain in Crete, having performed his apostolic work there, by *witnessing from personal knowledge of Christ*, he left Titus temporarily, to complete his unfinished labors, in the organization of churches, and supplying them with pastors, a work which, according to Eusebius, evangelists were competent to perform.

But Paul says,—“for this cause left I **THEE** in Crete.” We reply, that probably Paul had no one *else* to leave there, or knew of no more suitable person. No; but “for this cause left

I thee in Crete," *to do a particular kind of work, to do my work, to set in order things that are wanting, and to ordain elders.*" Well, we reply, it was necessary that somebody should do this work, and if Paul could not remain to do it himself, why should he not avail himself of the presence of Titus there, who was every way a suitable person to complete what the apostle had begun. But how, Mr. Schuyler asks, could Titus, if he was not an apostle, do an apostle's work? We reply, he could not. He could not testify, from personal knowledge, of Christ. He could not speak authoritatively, as one inspired; and we do not read that he attempted to do either one of these things. Might he not, however, do an *evangelist's* work? Founding churches and ordaining pastors over them, were directly in his line. "Titus was St. Paul's equal," we are told, "inasmuch as he was to *perfect* the work which St. Paul commenced!" Admirable! Apostles, then, never performed any work which could be done by any that were not apostles! And if any person followed in an apostle's track, and entered into his labors, he was himself, of necessity, an apostle! Has Mr. Schuyler anywhere proved, that to found churches and ordain pastors were functions *peculiar* to the apostolic office? Have not we proved that they were not?

Because Titus was left in Crete, to "set in order the things that remained, and to ordain elders, it follows, therefore," says Mr. S., "that he went there with all the powers of an apostle." If he went there with all the powers of an apostle, then how did Paul's leaving him there to do the work described, *make* him bishop of Crete? But will our author pretend that he had, either before or after he went to Crete, *all* the powers of an apostle? Had he the power to testify of Christ from personal knowledge, and to speak authoritatively, the mind of Christ, as one inspired? It will not, at least, be denied that these were *powers of an apostle*. Did Titus possess them?

Mr. Schuyler finds a third argument for the episcopate of Titus in Crete, in the assumed fact, that "to him *alone* was the

power to govern the church there, and ordain elders committed." I know of no evidence that this was a *real* fact, except that Episcopalians affirm it. Does the epistle contain any evidence of it? The epistle informs us that Titus was to ordain elders. Does it say that no one was to participate with him in this work?

For a fuller reply to this argument, the reader may turn back to what was said in the case of Timothy.

But, fourth. Titus received a particular charge to banish heresy. Paul said to him, "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject." Therefore Titus was episcopal bishop of Crete. To whom was the first epistle to the Corinthians written?—To a company of episcopal bishops? It is commonly supposed, that it was written to the Corinthian church with its elders. In the fifth chapter, a much severer kind of discipline is mentioned than this rejection of a heretic, and by whom was it to be administered? At the fourth verse we read, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such an one unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus."—When *who* should be gathered together? It is enough to have alluded to this. Titus' commission against heretics, though it were proved, which it can not be, that he had charge of this matter *alone*, would not prove him to have been prelatie bishop.

Whether any thing is made out for the Cretian episcopate, I leave the reader to decide.

What is the testimony of the fathers, in regard to Timothy and Titus? Not a single authority can be found in all the writings of the first three centuries, to sustain the episcopal claim. So Dr. Whitby confesses, in his preface to the epistle to Titus. Chrysostom, who flourished in the fourth century, in a passage quoted from him by Mocket, chaplain to archbishop Abbot, says, that they were *evangelists*.—Tractat. de

Politia Anglicana. Later patristic authorities are of no avail. When episcopal usurpations had become the order of the day, it is not remarkable if there were found some to make prelates of Timothy and Titus, especially when Theodoret could make one of Epaphroditus, on the bare ground of his being sent to Paul, by the Philippians, with a contribution of money.

Admissions of Episcopal writers are not wanting in any number.

Bishop Stillingfleet says,—Irenicum, page 340,—“They were very few, and those probably not the ablest, who were left at home to take care of the spoil; the strongest and ablest, like commanders in an army, were not settled in any troop, but went up and down, from this company to that, to order them and draw them forth; and while they were, they had the chief authority among them, but as commanders of the army, and not as officers of the troop. Such were evangelists,—who were sent sometimes into this country to put the churches in order there, sometimes into another; but wherever they were, *they acted as evangelists, and not as fixed officers. And such were Timothy and Titus*, notwithstanding all the opposition made to it, as will appear to any that will take an impartial survey of the arguments on both sides.”

Bishop Bridges, whom no one will suspect of leaning to Presbyterianism, in his defense of the government of the church of England, book i, page 68, says,—“The same Philip is called an evangelist; so was Timothie, 2 Tim. iv: 5. Such was Titus, Silas, and manie other. *This office also, with the order of the apostles, is expired, and hath no place.* Likewise, as wee doo plainlie see, that the gifts of healing, of powers or miracles, and of diverse toongs, have long since ceased in the church; so the offices of them which were grounded upon these gifts must also cease and be determined.”

Dodwell — Parcenēs, sec. x, page 404, says,—“But truly, that the office (of Timothy) was not fixed, but itinerary, many arguments do evince. It was required of him to abide at

Ephesus, as is testified by the apostle — 1 Tim. i: 3. He was therefore, when thus demanded, an itinerary. The work of an evangelist, 2 Tim. iv: 5, so many journeyings with St. Paul, and his name being joined in common with the apostle, in the inscriptions of the epistles to the Thessalonians, are all of them arguments for this. Moreover, the apostle commands Titus only to ordain, in Crete, presbyters in every city — Titus i: 5. He says, he was left there, that he might set in order the things that were wanting, and he was a companion of the apostle when he was left there. And truly, other places make it appear, that he was a companion of St. Paul, and therefore was no more restricted to any particular place than the apostle himself."

Willet, in the Synopsis Papismi, controversy 5, quest. 3, says — "Neither can it be granted by the words of the apostle, *Lay hands suddenly on no man*, that Timothy had this *sole power* in himself; for the apostle would not give that to him, which he did not take to himself, who associated to him the rest of the presbyters in ordaining Timothy." In the appendix to the fifth general controversy, question third, he says — "It is most like that Timothie had the place and calling of an evangelist, whose office was *to second the apostles in their minis-terie, and to water that which the apostles had planted.*"

If any one is inclined to suppose that Timothy and Titus were bishops, one of Ephesus, and the other of Crete, because it is so stated in the postscripts of the epistles which were addressed to them, it is enough to say, what no one will venture to deny, that these postscripts form no part of the epistles themselves, but were added near the middle of the fifth century, as notes, by one Eustathius, bishop of Suica, in Egypt. So says Dr. Mill; and bishop Horne declares, that whoever was the author, he was either grossly ignorant or grossly inattentive.

On the whole, the reader must, I think, be satisfied that the Episcopal pretension respecting Timothy and Titus, is a pretension merely, unsupported by a shadow of sufficient evidence.

Every argument that is advanced in either case, is a bare assumption, met by us, not with assumptions, but with undeniable facts, and a construction of scripture texts which can not fail to commend itself to every unprejudiced mind.

Mr. Schuyler, on page sixty-one, makes a quotation from bishop Hall, which I desire to notice briefly. Bishop Hall, by the way, was a most enthusiastic defender of the Ephesian and Cretian episcopates. In his work on "Episcopacy by Divine Right," book ii, page 26, he says — "I demand, what is it that is stood upon, but these two particulars, the especial power of ordination, and power of the ruling and censuring of presbyters; and if these two be not clear in the charge of the apostle to these two bishops, one of Crete, the other of Ephesus, I shall yield the cause, and confess to want my senses." So confident was he, and so much importance did he attach to the demonstrableness of these two episcopates. He sympathized, I have no doubt, with Bilson, who says, — Perpetual Government, ch. xiv, page 300 — "This indeed, is the *main erection* of the episcopal power and function, if our proofes drawn from these ministers stand; or subversion, if your answeare be good; for if this faile, well may bishops claime their authoritie by the *custome of the church; by any divine precept expressed in the scriptures, they can not.*" But let us hear Bishop Hall:

"It is a poor shift of some, that Timothy and Titus were *evangelists*, and therefore persons extraordinary, and not, in this behalf, capable of succession. Whatever they were in their personal qualifications, *here* they stood for *bishops*, and they received, as church governors, those charges which were to be ordinary and perpetual to all who should succeed in ecclesiastical administration. As to the *title*, how will it appear that they were evangelists? For Titus there is no color; he is nowhere called an evangelist. For Timothy, it is true, St. Paul charges him to do the work of an evangelist. What of that? What is it to do the work of an evangelist, but to preach the gospel of peace? This he might do, and must do, as a bishop. And

what propriety is there of these enjoined works to an evangelist, as he was an evangelist? What! Can they show it was the office of an evangelist to ordain and censure? Nay, rather, how should those works which are *constant* and *ordinary*, and so consequently desirable to all successions, to the end of the world, be imposed upon a mere extraordinary agent?" "as," Mr. Schuyler adds, "it is *admitted* the evangelists were?"

"As to the *title*, how will it appear that they were evangelists?" It appears, we reply, from the fact that they were never permanently located, but through the entire course of their ministry, so far as we can trace them, were employed in evangelistic labors, going from place to place, and doing the very work, which, according to all competent authorities, was the proper work of evangelists.

Dr. John Brown quotes Barrow as saying — "Episcopacy is an ordinary standing charge, affixed to one place, and requiring especial attendance there;" and adds — "But evangelists, as is stated by Eusebius, after having founded or organized churches in one place, hastened to another. It is impossible, accordingly, to read what is said of Timothy and Titus, in the New Testament, without perceiving that they were evangelists; for they had no more any fixed charge than the apostles themselves, but were constantly moving from place to place. Thus, it is mentioned respecting Timothy, that as soon as he was ordained to the ministry, Acts xvi, he traveled with Paul through Phrygia, Galatia, Asia, and Mysia, from whence he came to Philippi, and after remaining there for a time, he was sent to Corinth, where he preached to that church,— 2 Cor. i: 19,— and then returned to the apostle. They went together from Philippi to Thessalonica and Berea; and Paul having proceeded to Athens, Timothy soon followed him, and was, by and by, dispatched again to Thessalonica, to confirm and water the church in that city. Michaelis thinks, that the apostle wrote his first epistle to him when he left him at Ephesus, after he himself was obliged to leave it, Acts xix, 'to re-establish order in that church,—to

fill the ecclesiastical offices, and to oppose the false teachers; and he considers it as evident, from what is mentioned in the third chapter, that 'no bishops had been appointed among them.' This took place when Timothy was very young, 1 Tim. iv: 12,—or, according to the opinion of the most eminent critics, when he was about twenty-six, or twenty-seven years of age, and several years before the last interview of the apostle with the presbyters of Ephesus, Acts xx, whom he addresses as bishops, verse twenty-eight, without representing them as under the episcopate of Timothy. And as nothing is said of his being the bishop of Ephesus, or of his being bound to reside there, so his stay there was short; for he accompanied Paul to Jerusalem, followed him to Rome,—Col. i: 1,—was imprisoned there, and liberated shortly before the apostle was liberated, Heb. iii: 23,—from whence he proceeded very probably to Philippi. And the same observation applies to Titus, whose residence in Crete appears to have been short; for Paul tells him, ch. iii: 12, that when he sent Tychicus or Artemas to him, he wished him to come to him at Nicopolis;—and he labored also among the churches in Macedonia and Dalmatia, as well as at Rome and Corinth."

Macknight says—preface to 2 Tim. sec. iii—"After the apostle left Timothy at Ephesus, he went into Macedonia to visit the churches there, according to his promise—Phil. ii: 24; then went to Nicopolis in Epirus, with an intention to spend the winter—Tit. iii: 12—and to return to Ephesus in the spring—1 Tim. iii: 14. But having ordered Titus to come to him from Crete to Nicopolis,—Tit. iii: 12,—on his arrival he gave him such an account of the state of the churches in Crete, as determined him to go with Titus, a second time, into that island. While in Crete, hearing of the cruel persecution which the emperor Nero was carrying on against the christians, the apostle speedily finished his business, and sailed with Titus to Italy, in the end of the autumn 65." This, according to what Macknight says, in the preface to the epistle to *Titus*, was

only about three years after Titus was first left at Crete, as Episcopalians tell us, the Episcopal bishop of that island. During a part of these three years, he was absent, as we know, at Nicopolis; and it is nowhere recorded in the sacred narrative, that he ever returned there after going with Paul to Rome.

Now, when bishop Hall asks, How it appears that Timothy and Titus were evangelists? — we reply, among other things, by referring to their history, and showing that their whole lives, so far as they can be traced in the sacred narrative, were spent in evangelistic labors! It can not be shown, that Titus, in his entire lifetime, spent three whole years on the island of Crete, or that Timothy was even for so long a time at Ephesus. If the scene of their labors was constantly changing, if they were always passing from region to region, how were they *any thing else* than evangelists? To represent them as Episcopal bishops, one of Ephesus and the other of Crete, is utterly contradicted by the facts of their history.

Bishop Hall thinks, that the exhortation to Timothy, to *do the work of an evangelist*, implies nothing. “What of that?” he says; “What is it to do the work of an evangelist, but to preach the gospel of peace?” We reply, considerably more. The work of an evangelist was to found churches and to ordain pastors, as Eusebius informs us, as well as to preach the gospel. Suppose Paul had said, “*do the work of an apostle, or of a diocesan bishop*,” would not bishop Hall have thought *that* meant something? He asks, “Can they show it was the office of an evangelist to ordain and censure?” We reply, can bishop Hall, or any other bishop, show that Timothy and Titus had the powers of ordination and of censure vested in themselves *alone*? Or, if they had, is it strange that such powers should have appertained to an office which was really higher than that of any Episcopal bishop, and which had associated with it such eminent qualifications of grace, as no prelate in the church, from that day to this, has ever, without the grossest hypocrisy,

been able to boast of? He thinks it incredible that "those works which are *constant* and *ordinary*, and so consequently desirable to all successions, to the end of the world, should be imposed on a mere *extraordinary* agent." He can not understand, that the *extraordinary* exigency of those times, when suitable agents of any kind were few, and the church was to be planted throughout the world, created a necessity for extraordinary agents. Is it not a perfectly unreasonable claim on his part, that the entire system of ecclesiastical machinery should have begun to move from the very first, as it was intended that it should move afterward, when the church was fully established? There was a clear necessity, at the beginning, for extraordinary agents to do work which was to be ordinary and perpetual in the hands of ordinary ministers after things should resolve themselves into their settled and permanent state. An illustration might be borrowed from almost any of our successful modern missions among the heathen. But enough is said, and I must dismiss this subject. I leave it, feeling that not a tithe has been said of what might be, with pertinency and power, against the Episcopal pretension; yet assured that enough has been said to satisfy every impartial and honest mind, that no evidence is found, either in the case of Timothy or Titus, that the apostles appointed prelatie bishops over the churches.

WERE THE ANGELS OF THE SEVEN CHURCHES OF ASIA, PRELATIC BISHOPS?

"We come now," says Mr. Schuyler, page seventy-six, "to notice briefly, the case of the angels over the seven churches, mentioned in the book of Revelations, as confirming our position, that *the apostolic office, with its peculiar powers, was continued in the church.*

“ And here I would mention, that the book of Revelations is supposed to have been written about A. D. 96. St. John was the only one of the apostles then living. It must have been about thirty years after Timothy was appointed bishop of Ephesus. In this book, Christ, through his servant John, addresses the angel of the church at Ephesus. Of the word ‘angel,’ we would here remark, that its literal meaning is a messenger, and as sanctioned by general use, a chief messenger. So with the word ‘apostle,’ and though the words are different, yet having the same meaning, how natural the inference, that in the present case they imply the same office. But the meaning of the word is evident from the context. Each of these angels is addressed as an officer of the church, and is commanded or censured, singly, for the condition of the particular church over which each individual presides. As in the epistle to the angel of the church at Pergamos, Christ declares — ‘I have a few things against *thee*, because *thou* hast them there that hold the doctrine of Balaam,’ &c. Here, then, we have an individual officer publicly censured, and that, too, by the great head of the church, for permitting heretical teaching, as though he alone was responsible for this sin. Now, why is this, unless this officer had the supreme authority entrusted to him? Had there been at this time, presbyters, ruling in the churches, would not the address have been made to *them*, in their associate capacity? When administering his censure for suffering heretics to remain in the church, as in the epistle to the church at Pergamos, would not the address have been to the body of the elders, by their official name? But as we have seen, this is not the case. There is but one person addressed: ‘I have a few things against *thee*,’ &c. Again; ‘So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes;’ and the same mode of address is preserved throughout all the epistles. But let me call your attention particularly to what is said to the angel of Ephesus. In our last discourse, we proved (!) to you that Timothy was placed over this church with authority superior to

that of presbyters — that he was to rule and govern the church, and administer discipline as well upon elders as private members. At that time, there were many elders at Ephesus, as is evident from the gospel history; and as christianity spread with astonishing rapidity, in the early ages of the church, there must have been a great multitude of believers in the large city of Ephesus, and many churches, with their respective ministers, after the lapse of thirty years. Yet we find the epistle directed to the *angel* of the church at Ephesus, just as St. Paul addressed his epistle to Timothy. And with what powers do we find this officer or angel, invested? with the same powers entrusted to Timothy. Christ especially commends him, for having enforced his authority in exercising discipline upon those, who, it would seem, had claimed to be apostles, without any proper warrant; thus clearly proving, that *he, i. e.* the angel at Ephesus, was an apostle, and that there were still true apostles in the church; for had not he been an apostle, he would have had no authority to try their claims; and had there not been *true* apostles, there would have been no necessity for instituting proceedings to detect the *false*. These are the words of the address to the angel at Ephesus: ‘I know thy works and labor, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil, and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles and are not, and hast found them liars.’ Here, then, is an officer above all other ministers, occupying the position, and exerting the same authority over the churches in Ephesus, which the bishops of the Episcopal church do in their respective dioceses. Who, then, can doubt, that the angel here addressed, was the bishop of the church? And in confirmation of this position, we quote the learned ecclesiastical historian, Mosheim, and who, we would remark, is not an Episcopalian. He says, (Vidal’s Translation, Com. on first three centuries, pp. 227, 228,) — ‘In support of this opinion, that episcopacy was established during the lifetime of the apostles, and with their approbation, we are supplied with an argument of such strength,

in those angels to whom St. John addressed the epistles, which, by the command of our Saviour himself, he sent to the seven churches in Asia, as the Presbyterians, as they are termed, let them labor and strive as they may, will never be able to overcome. It must be evident to every one, even on a cursory perusal of the epistles to which we refer, that those who are therein termed angels, were persons possessing such a degree of authority in their respective churches, as enabled them to mark with merited disgrace, whatever might appear to be deserving of reprehension; and also to give due countenance and encouragement to every thing that was virtuous and commendable.' In addition to this, we have the testimony of Ignatius, who was conversant with the apostles, and ordained by one of them, bishop of Antioch, that after Timothy, Onesimus was bishop of Ephesus, and was probably the angel to whom the epistle was addressed."

Before replying to Mr. Schuyler's reasoning in this passage, I have something to say in regard to the two authorities with which he closes it. The testimony of Ignatius amounts to nothing; for the only rational supposition is, that he uses the term "bishop" in the sense in which it is admitted the apostles used it. Theodoret, in the fourth century, speaks of a change in the manner of employing this word, which had been gradually introduced after the days of the apostles. He says, "in process of time, the name 'apostle' was left to those who were truly apostles; and the name of bishop restrained to those who were *anciently* called apostles." It is evident, therefore, that Ignatius, who, our author says, was "conversant with the apostles, and ordained by one of them, bishop of Antioch," employed the term "bishop," not in its modern, but in its primitive and scriptural sense. We may judge, also, what kind of a bishop he himself was made at Antioch — not a diocesan prelate, but a simple pastor.

The testimony from Mosheim, quoted by bishop Ravenscroft, from Vidal's Translation, is something new. I own that I have never read Mosheim in the original Latin, but I am

familiar with the two best, and I believe *only* English translations that have ever been made,—Maclaine's and Murdock's,—and the passage cited is as strange to me as though it had been quoted from a work written yesterday. Neither Murdock nor Maclaine have any thing to which it bears even a resemblance; and I have no sort of hesitation in pronouncing it a forgery. That Mosheim could not have been the author of it, I will prove by quotations from Murdock, showing that he did not believe what is here ascribed to him.

Book I, Century 1, Part 2, chap. ii, sec. 2,—“In this manner, christians managed ecclesiastical affairs so long as their congregations were small, or not very numerous. Three or four presbyters, men of gravity and holiness, placed over those little societies, could easily proceed with harmony, and needed no head or president. But when the churches became larger, and the number of presbyters and deacons, as well as the amount of duties to be performed, was increased, it became necessary that the council of presbyters should have a *president*, a man of distinguished gravity and prudence, who should distribute among his colleagues their several tasks, and be as it were the central point of the whole society. He was, at first, denominated the *angel*, (Rev. ii and iii.); but afterward the *bishop*—a title of Grecian derivation, and indicative of his principal business. It would seem that the church of *Jerusalem*, when grown very numerous, after the dispersion of the apostles among foreign nations, was the first to elect such a president, and that other churches in process of time followed the example.”

Sec. 12.—“But whoever supposes that the bishops of this first and golden age of the church, corresponded with the bishops of the following centuries, must blend and confound characters that are very different. For in *this century and the next*, a bishop had charge of a *single* church, which might ordinarily be contained in a private house; nor was he its *lord*, but was in reality its *minister* or servant; he instructed the

people, conducted all parts of public worship, attended on the sick and necessitous in person, and what he was unable thus to perform, he committed to the care of the presbyters; but was without power to *ordain*, or to determine any thing, except with the concurrence of the presbyters and the brotherhood."

If Mosheim wrote this, will the reader believe that he ever wrote the passage quoted upon the authority of bishop Ravenscroft, from Vidal?

What does he say in the two sections which I have just given from him? The following things:

First. That in the beginning, the ministry of each church was committed exclusively to three or four presbyters.

Second. That in process of time, as the churches grew, it became necessary that one should assume a *presidency* over the rest, and have the sole charge of public worship, &c., &c.;—precisely as is now the case in every Presbyterian church, where the pastor is president of a board of elders.

Third. That this president of the board of elders was at first called the *angel* of the church, (as in Rev. ii and iii), and afterward bishop.

Fourth. That during the first two centuries a bishop had charge only of a single church, which might ordinarily be contained in a private house. And

Fifth. That he was nothing more than a presbyterian pastor, with no power to ordain, or to determine any thing without the concurrence of the presbyters and the brotherhood.

In regard to the angels of the churches, Mosheim affirms precisely what we believe: that they were the presiding officers, or *pastors*, as unlike a modern diocesan bishop as they were unlike a Romish cardinal or a pope. Mosheim continues,

Sec. 13.—"It was not long, however, (that is, after the first two centuries,) before the extent of episcopal jurisdiction and power was enlarged, for the bishops who lived in the cities, either by their own labors, or by those of their presbyters, gathered new churches in the neighboring villages and hamlets:

and these churches continuing under the protection and care of the bishops, (*i. e.* pastors,) by whose ministry or procurement, they had received christianity, ecclesiastical provinces were gradually formed, which the Greeks afterward denominated *dioceses*. The persons to whom the city bishops (or pastors) committed the government and instruction of these village and rural churches, were called *rural bishops* or *chorepiscopi*, that is, bishops of the suburbs and fields. They were an intermediate class between the bishops (or pastors) and the presbyters; being inferior to the former, because subject to them, and superior to the latter, because intrusted with discretionary and permanent power, and performing nearly all the functions of bishops."

The reader will perceive that the term presbyter or elder is applied here by Mosheim, to those associated with the pastor, not in the performance of ministerial functions, but in the government of the church merely.

The fact which this historian states, in regard to the first insidious advances toward diocesan episcopacy, which began after the close of the second century, is in precise accordance with our own understanding of this subject. It was most natural that things should take that course, and most natural, also, that the influence and power thus acquired by the city pastors should lead as they did eventually, to farther results in the same direction.

Mosheim, on Century II, Part 2, chapter ii, sec. 1, says as follows:

"The form of church government which began to exist in the preceding century was more industriously established and confirmed in all its parts. One *president* or bishop (*i. e.* pastor) presided over each church. He was created by the common suffrage of the whole people. With the presbyters (*i. e.* the ruling elders) for his council, whose number was not fixed; it was his business to watch over the interests of the whole church, and to assign to each presbyter his station. (Let it be observed,

this was in a single church, or congregation.) Subject to the bishop (or pastor) and also to the presbyters, were the servants or *deacons*."

A more exact account of the organization of a presbyterian church could not be written.

Section 2. — "During a great part of this century, all the churches continued to be, as at first, *independent* of each other; or were connected by no consociations or confederations. Each church was a kind of small, independent republic, governing itself by its own laws, enacted, or at least sanctioned by the people. But, in process of time, it became customary for all the christian churches within the same province, to unite and form a sort of larger society or commonwealth; and in the manner of confederated republics, to hold conventions at stated times, and there deliberate for the common advantage of the whole confederation."

Let Mosheim speak again on century iii,— Part 2, ch. ii, sec. 3, — "Yet, while the ancient mode of church government seemed in general to remain unaltered, there was a gradual deflection from its rules, and an approximation toward the form of a monarchy. For the bishop claimed much higher authority and power than before, and encroached more and more upon the rights, not only of the brotherhood, but also of the presbyters, and to give plausibility to these usurpations, they advanced new doctrines concerning the church and the episcopal office; which, however, were so obscure for the most part, that it would seem they did not themselves understand them. The principal author of these innovations was *Cyprian*, the most bold and strenuous defender of Episcopal power that had then arisen in the church. Yet he was not uniform and consistent; for in times of difficulty, when urged by necessity, he could give up his pretensions, and submit every thing to the judgment and authority of the church."

Sec. 4. — "This change in the form of ecclesiastical government, was followed by a corrupt state of the clergy; for

although examples of primitive piety and virtue were not wanting, yet many were addicted to dissipation, arrogance, voluptuousness, contention, and other vices," &c. &c.

There is not the shadow of a doubt, that during the first two centuries, the term "bishop" was used in the scriptural sense exactly, and that bishops were simply *pastors* of single churches. They were presbyter pastors, chosen by the people, having the exclusive power and right to conduct public worship, and administer the sacraments, but associated, in the government of the churches, with a board of presbyters.

If Mr. Schuyler had ever read Mosheim, I think he could not have so imposed upon himself as to offer us this passage, quoted by bishop Ravenscroft from Vidal, for a veritable passage from that author. Why does he make a second-hand quotation from an obscure and inaccessible writer, probably a French Papist, when he might so easily quote, for himself, from Murdock, or Maclaine, either of whom is well accredited as a reliable translator?

But now for the main subject under present debate. We affirm, that the angels of the churches were simply, according to Mosheim's statement of the use of the term "angel," *pastors*, and nothing more; *bishops* in the scriptural sense, of single congregations; as unlike modern diocesan bishops as they well could be.

Our arguments, direct and negative, are the following:

First. We reason from the source from whence the term "angel" was derived. Let Dr. Lightfoot, an Episcopalian, and a man who, it will be confessed, had few equals in scriptural knowledge and Jewish learning, speak for us, on this point. I quote from volume ii, of his works, page 133, — "Besides these (the three rulers of the synagogue) there was the public minister of the synagogue, who prayed publicly, and took care about the reading of the law, and sometimes preached, if there were not others to discharge that office. This person was called Sheliach Zibbor, *the angel of the church*, and the *Chazan* or

bishop of the congregation. Certainly the signification of the word *bishop*, or *angel* of the church, had been determined with less noise, if recourse had been made to the proper fountains, and men had not vainly disputed about the meaning of words, taken I know not whence. The service and worship of the temple being abolished, as being ceremonial, God transplanted the worship and public adoration of God used in the synagogues, which was moral, into the christian church; to wit, the public ministry, public prayers, reading of God's word, and preaching, &c. *Hence the names of the ministers of the gospel were the very same, the angel of the church, and the bishop, which belonged to the ministers in the synagogues."*

Be it observed, the *Sheliach Zibbor*, angel, or bishop of the synagogue, was simply the president of the synagogue to which he was attached, having no authority beyond its particular limits, associated, in the general government of that synagogue, with three other rulers. Not only, therefore, is no proof obtained, that the term *angel* was applied in the christian church to an officer having authority over many congregations and their ministers; but the whole proof from the origin of the title is, that it was applied to the pastor of a single congregation, associated in the government of the same with others. Says Dr. John Dick, vol. ii, page 471 — "It (*angel*) is a name not of order, but of office, which was given by the Jews to the president of their synagogues, and chiefly for this reason, that he offered up prayers to God in the name of the assembly. This being known to be the sense in which the word was understood by the Jews, John, who was himself a Jew, naturally applied it to the president of a christian church, or the minister who officiated in holy things, and acted as intercessor with God for the people. The utmost which can be fairly inferred is, that in each of the Asiatic churches there was a person who held the first place. But Episcopalians can derive no advantage from this circumstance, because Presbyterians hold, that in every congregation there is, or ought to be,

one person at least who is superior to the rest, and to whom it pertains to conduct the public offices of religion."

The learned Origen, A. D. 230, — De Orat., sec. 34 — affirms, that the angels of the churches were the presiding presbyters (*proestotes*) and the same opinion, according to Coleman — see Apostolical and Primitive Church, page 159 — was expressed before him, by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Clemens Alexandrinus.

What Mr. Schuyler says of the primary sense of the word "*angel*" is true enough. But why did he not tell us how it came to be applied as it is in the epistles on which his present argument is founded? Did he not know that the true way to ascertain its meaning in these places, is to inquire what import the word had as a title, or name of office among the Jews? If he knew how the word came to be used by John, was it honest in him to withhold the facts, and content himself with the bald statement, that "its literal meaning is *messenger*, and, as sanctioned by general use, a chief messenger?"

Second. It can not be shown that the churches to which these angels ministered were not *single* believing congregations.

Our author, having nothing in view but the making out of a case, displays a boldness of assumption to which few men would be equal. He says — "At that time, (that is, when Timothy was left at Ephesus) there were many elders at Ephesus, as is evident from the gospel history; and as christianity spread with astonishing rapidity, in the early ages of the church, there must have been a great multitude of believers in the large city of Ephesus, and many churches, with their respective ministers, after the lapse of thirty years."

The reader perceives that this is a mere *fancy*.—"There must have been!" Is our author to build an argument, and prove his case, on a mere supposition? What is the *fact*? Is it *known* that there were "many churches, with their respective ministers," at Ephesus, at the time these messages were sent? We do not want guesses, but proof. That there were many

elders there, is not such proof as we require. This does not establish the fact that there were many churches; for according to the testimony of Mosheim, there was always an indefinite plurality of elders in one church; and at first, until the necessity arose, on account of the growing number of believers, they performed the whole work of the ministry in common. I do not myself suppose, that the distinction of *teaching* and *ruling* elders existed at the very first establishment of that order in the church, but the evidence is irresistible, that it grew up under the eye of the apostles, and was approved of, and confirmed by them. The term *bishop* was originally applied to all elders; but in the very time of the apostles it came to be applied, in each church, to that elder who was chosen by the people to act as *president*, and to perform, in a special manner, the duties of the pastoral office. It is true, indeed, that there were many elders in the church of Ephesus long after the first epistle to Timothy was written; and Paul, in addressing them, calls them all *bishops*; but this is as far from proving that there were many churches, or that these elders were ministers of different congregations, as it is from proving that there were many dioceses and many prelates. It is not to be supposed that in the very first instance each church was organized and furnished with a ministry, precisely as it was intended it should be afterward. Qualified persons, to assume the presidency or pastoral charge of the churches, at the first, were not always to be found, and it was, therefore, in this respect, a matter of necessity that this perfection of order should be waited for, until such time as it could be supplied.

Dr. Snodgrass, in his work on "Apostolical Succession," page 166, says, "Erroneous opinions, in regard to the extent of these ancient churches, lies at the foundation of much of the false reasoning which occurs in support of prelacy. And for the purpose of setting this matter before you in its true light, I ask your attention to the testimony of one, who was qualified to judge, and who will not be suspected of a disposition to crowd

Episcopacy out of its proper place. I refer to sir Peter King, nephew of the celebrated Mr. Locke, and lord high chancellor of England. As the result of his careful inquiry into the constitution, &c., of the church for the first three hundred years, he confesses there was, then, 'but one bishop to a church,' and 'but one church to a bishop;' and that 'the bishop's cure was never called a diocese; but was usually a parish no larger than our parishes.' In regard to Ephesus, in particular, he says, — 'as for the diocese of Ephesus, there was but one altar, or communion table, in its whole territory, at which they all communicated together; whence they are said to break one bread.' — 'The members of this church could also meet together in one place, to send up their joint prayers to God in Christ: and therefore Ignatius condemns all those of that diocese, who did not assemble together in that one place with the rest of the members thereof; to send up their prayers to God.' 'So that, if to communicate together, and to pray together, be the marks of a particular church, then this bishopric was one.' He takes the same ground in regard to the churches at Smyrna, at Philadelphia, &c.; and his opinion is corroborated by other respectable authorities, which we might adduce."

If Mr. Schuyler desires to prove that the "angel of the church at Ephesus," was a prelatie bishop, it is indispensable that he should *prove*, and not *suppose*, that the church at Ephesus was composed of many distinct congregations with their several ministers. He can neither prove it, nor show such evidence as may serve for the ground of a rational presumption.

It may be observed that it is only in the case of the Ephesian church that there is even a pretext for setting up this claim; and the pretext in this instance is palpably insufficient.

Third. Suppose it should be conceded that there were many churches in Ephesus, with their several pastors, and that the same was true of Loadicea, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Smyrna,— what then? Does it follow, that

the angel addressed, was bishop over them all? or, may we conclude, that under the general denomination of "the angel," each pastor was addressed alike? Are we, of necessity, to suppose that "the angel" represents, absolutely, *one person*, and no more? Then I reply, it becomes impossible to concede that there was in each city a plurality of congregations,—for the necessity is just the same of supposing that each *candlestick* is one church, as of supposing that each *star*, or *angel*, is one person. Ch. i: 20,—“The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks. The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches, and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest, are the seven churches.” Now we insist, and we have a manifest right to insist, that if each star, or angel was one person, each candlestick was one church. If all the congregations in any city, supposing that there were more than one, might be represented by a single candlestick, who can show a reason why all the pastors might not be represented by a single star, and why they might not be addressed collectively, under one symbolic term? We need not be told, that by our own admission, the term “angel” was in common use, as applicable to a single person; that does not, in the least, forbid the idea that it might be used symbolically, to represent any number of persons holding the office which the term, in its ordinary use, indicates. In the fourteenth chapter of Revelations, at the sixth verse, John says, — “And I saw another angel flying in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth,” &c. Here the word “angel” is evidently used symbolically, and not to represent a few, but all Christ’s ministers throughout the whole world.

That the term “angel” in the messages to the seven churches is used symbolically, to represent a plurality of persons, is the opinion of some of the ablest and most learned men that have ever written. Among Episcopalians themselves, there may be given the names of such men as Dr. Henry More, Joseph Mede,

Dr. Fulk, and bishop Stillingfleet. The latter author, in his *Irenicum*, is quoted by Dr. Mason, as saying,— If, in the prophetic style, any unity may be set down by way of representation of a multitude, what evidence can be brought from the *name*, that by it some one particular person must be understood? ” A little further on, he says, “ If many things in the epistles be direct to the angels, but yet so as to concern the whole body, then of necessity, the angel must be taken as a representative of the whole body; and then, why may not the word ‘ *angel* ’ be taken by way of representation of the body itself, either of the whole church, or, which is far more probable, of the *concessus*, or order of presbyters in that church? We see what miserable, unaccountable arguments those are, which are brought for any kind of government from metaphorical or ambiguous expressions, or names promiscuously used.”

Fourth. The terms in which the angels are addressed, instead of proving that they were prelatie bishops, are in perfect accordance with the view of their office held by us. If the term “ angels,” in the messages, is used symbolically for many pastors, then of course, according to the rules of symbolization, they are all addressed as *one*, and *we* are to look for nothing in the terms employed that shall violate the conditions of the symbolic unity; so that whether we adopt the idea, that in each of the seven cities, there was but one church, with its president, who was addressed literally, or that in each city there were many churches with their several presidents, who were all addressed under the form of a symbolic *one*, the case, so far as the present inquiry is concerned, remains the same; and the simple question that presents itself is this,— Is there any thing in either of the messages to the angels that necessarily implies diocesan and prelatie authority, in the person addressed? Or, to adopt another form of the inquiry,— Is there any thing in either of these messages that would be inappropriate, if addressed to the pastor of a single congregation?

Let those things be fixed upon for the test of this matter, which Mr. Schuyler has chosen, as clearly sustaining his side of the question. To the angel of the church at Pergamos, Christ says,—“I have a few things against thee, because thou hast them there that hold the doctrine of Balaam,” &c. On this, our author remarks,—“Here then we have an individual officer publicly censured, and that, too, by the great head of the church, for permitting heretical *teaching*, as though he alone were responsible for that sin. Now why is this, unless this officer had the supreme authority entrusted to him? Had there been at this time presbyters, ruling in the churches, would not the address have been made to *them*, in their associate capacity?”

In the first place, it is to be remarked, that our author assumes that the persons in the church at Pergamos holding the doctrine of Balaam, are *ministers*, *preaching* that doctrine. The text says “*holding*” the doctrine of Balaam. Might I not be personally reprov'd, as president of my church, for allowing persons to remain in it, who should be found holding pernicious doctrines? What is there in this message to the angel of the church at Pergamos that indicates any higher power or responsibility attaching to his office, than attaches to the office of every Presbyterian pastor? “*So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes.*”—The reader will observe, that in every instance, in which the angel is reprov'd for not excluding heretics, the language employed, is such as to suggest the idea, not of heretical ministers, but of heretical church-members.

Our author's next example, of what he supposes indicates prelatie power in these angels, is taken from the message to the angel of the church at Ephesus. He says, “Christ specially commends him for having enforced his authority in exercising discipline upon those, who, it would seem, had claimed to be apostles, without any proper warrant; thus clearly proving that *he*, that is the angel at Ephesus, was an apostle, and that there were still true apostles in the church, for had he not been an

apostle, he would have had no authority to try their claims; and had there not been *true* apostles, there would have been no necessity for instituting proceedings to detect the *false*. These are the words of the address to the angel of Ephesus — ‘I know thy works and labor, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear them which are evil, and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars.’ Here, then, is an officer above all other ministers, occupying the position, and exerting the same authority over the churches in Ephesus, which the bishops of the Episcopal church do in their respective dioceses.”

As a specimen of our author’s reasoning, this can not fail to afford amusement.

Let us examine it part by part. “*Christ especially commends him for having enforced his authority in the exercise of discipline.*” What had the angel done? He had tried them which said they were apostles and were not. Our author’s idea is, that he had “instituted proceedings” against them, *i. e.* he had arraigned them before a bishop’s court, and read an indictment, and called witnesses, and proceeded regularly, according to law, to convict and sentence them. All this, out of that little word “*tried.*” Now there are a great many ways of *trying* men who set up high pretensions, some of which without the formality of a bishop’s court, one would suppose might have been used some years ago in this city, in the case of the famous tractarian and canon of Oxford University, who, after being feasted and lionized for several days by all the Episcopal clergy, was finally claimed in the street, by a forsaken wife, who desired him to return to Ohio, and look after his children. It is evident that quite too much is claimed for that word “*tried.*” When men come to me claiming to be ministers, if I am doubtful of their character, I always *try* them. I ask for their credentials, and in various ways subject them to such tests as I deem requisite for affording me full satisfaction, and if I find them to be impostors, I send them away and warn the churches

against them. But I am nothing more than a plain scriptural bishop, and no prelate at all.

“For having enforced his authority in the exercise of discipline upon those, who, it would seem, had claimed to be apostles without any proper warrant; thus clearly proving that he, that is, the angel at Ephesus, was an apostle.”

The word “apostle” is used in the New Testament, as the reader has seen, and as our author may be presumed to know, sometimes to express one of the twelve high functionaries appointed by Christ to preside over the founding and establishing of his church, and sometimes to express an ordinary christian minister, sent abroad as a *missionary*. Our author has an intuitive knowledge of the sense in which it is used here. He knows by an instinct of his genius,—for he could not know in any other way,—that those persons whom the angel at Ephesus *tried*, claimed to be apostles in the highest and most dignified sense of the word. I submit to the reader, if it is not altogether more probable that they pretended to be *missionaries*, duly authorized to preach the gospel? Our author has obtained a foundation, however, broad enough to serve him for a conclusion.—“*Thus clearly proving that he, that is, the angel at Ephesus was an apostle.*” Suppose it were certain that those imposters claimed to be apostles in the highest sense, how would it then be “clearly proved” that the angel was such an apostle, by his detecting them in their falsehood? The old saying, that “it takes a rogue to catch a rogue,” may possibly have some degree of truth in it, but I can not see why it should take an apostle to know an apostle. “The signs of an apostle,” which Paul tells us were “signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds,” were certainly not so obscure that a plain pastor of a church could not discern them. How then would it follow that the angel at Ephesus was an apostle, or a prelatie bishop, from his detecting the falsehood of those that “said they were apostles and were not?” Could not a Presbyterian pastor say to one coming to him with such high claims,—“Sir, you say that

you are an apostle; now show the proof, and I will believe you. Do a manifest miracle, and you shall be received and honored, according to your desire?" And would not this be *trying* him? This is the very way in which we do try those who in these times "say they are apostles and are not, and find them liars."

"Thus clearly proving that he, that is, the angel at Ephesus, was an apostle, *and that there were still true apostles in the church, for had he not been an apostle he would have had no authority to try their claims.*" Our author's head is full of his idea of a bishop's court. I grant that none but a bona-fide bishop, according to the Episcopal sense of the word, would have had authority to hold a bishop's court, but to insist that the false apostles were tried in a bishop's court, such as our author is thinking of, is asking a little too much. They were put *to the test of their apostleship*. This is the reasonable construction of the language used, and if any thing else is contended for, it must be proved. They may have been put to the test of their apostleship before a presbyter bishop's court, that is, before the pastor and his session, or board of elders; this is possible; and such a court any pastor would have authority to hold, to try a pretended apostle. Let me ask Mr. Schuyler if he does not regard himself as having the authority which he thinks was exercised by the angel at Ephesus? If a person should come to him, claiming to be the bishop of some distant and obscure diocese of the church of England, a person of whom he had no knowledge, and had never before heard, would he not feel it to be his *duty* as well as *right*, to *try* him, to put him to the *test* in some way, before receiving him in the character which he professed? Would he not feel authorized to demand the gentleman's testimonials, and if he found them to be forgeries, to reject and denounce him? I do not know how my brother would be affected by the bare presumption of having an apostle to deal with, but I think he would claim the right which I have supposed, and exercise it. What a sudden leap he would make among the *stars*! According to his own

reasoning, it would "clearly prove" that *he*, that is, Mr. Schuyler, "is an apostle — for had he not been an apostle, he would have had no authority to try" this pretender's "claims."

Not only was the angel at Ephesus clearly proved to be an apostle, by his trying those that "said they were apostles, and were not," but it was clearly proved also, as a larger proposition, "*that there were still true apostles in the church; for had there not been true apostles, there would have been no necessity for instituting proceedings to detect the false.*"

This would be very good logic, if our author had only proved that these imposters claimed to be apostles in the high and distinctive sense of the word. But if what they claimed was, merely to be missionaries, and this is by far the most natural supposition, then it is only proved that missionaries were still employed in the church, which we fully believe. I say the most natural supposition is, that they claimed to be missionaries; for missionaries, we know, were going to every part of the world, but apostles, according to the Episcopal theory, had at this time become almost universally fixed stars, like the angel or star at Ephesus. If there were any true apostles still acting as missionaries, they must have been few in number and well known; and as for the rest, it was in itself a suspicious circumstance, that they should be wandering about away from their dioceses. It would evidently be a poor business for impostors to set up as apostles; but to set up as missionaries, as evangelists, as traveling preachers of the gospel, would be less unpromising. All the probabilities of the case are adverse to our author's assumption.

But let us take his conclusion, — "*Here, then, is an officer above all other ministers, occupying the position, and exerting the same authority over the churches in Ephesus, which the bishops of the Episcopal church do in their respective dioceses. Who can doubt it?*" &c., &c.!

The reader is free to his own opinion as to what this brave conclusion rests upon. What one thing has our author pointed

out to us, appertaining to the "angels of the churches," which Episcopal bishops *only* can do? What one thing, which the pastor of the smallest congregation in the world may not do, just as well as the archbishop of Canterbury, or all the prelates in christendom put together.

We might, if it were necessary, meet our author's argument, and, though poorly constructed and feebly stated, it is the argument substantially of all his school of writers, on entirely different ground from any which has yet been assumed. Though these messages of Christ were formally sent to the angels of the churches, and are, for the most part, addressed by the designative terms, *thee* and *thou*, yet nothing is more evident than that they were really sent to the *churches*, as such, and to the angels only as presidents of the churches and representing them; so, that whatever powers and prerogatives seem to be attributed to the angels, are really not the angels' alone, but belong to the churches, with their ministers at their head. Let the messages themselves be considered, and the least discriminating reader can not fail to perceive that it is a perfect absurdity to regard them as being addressed to the angels as such, and to them solely. In the message to the angel at Ephesus, Christ says, — "Nevertheless, I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love. Remember, therefore, from whence thou art fallen; and repent, and do thy first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent." — Was this said to the angel alone, or to the church also? Was the church to be visited with divine judgment, even to removal or extermination, for the sin of the angel, and not for its own sins? Look everywhere in these messages, and it seems to me the man is beside himself, who can not see that it is the churches as entire wholes, — presidents, associate elders, and people, — that are addressed. And, to put the matter to rest effectually, let the brief but solemn caution with which each

message closes, be considered — “He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit *saith unto the churches.*”

The exercise of authority, therefore, in the enforcement of discipline, and the trying of false apostles, &c., which, Mr. Schuyler thinks, prove so clearly that the angels were apostles or prelate bishops, were things done, according to the record, not by the angels, as such, at all, but by the *churches* in connection with their angels or ministers.

In every view which can be taken of this subject, the argument for diocesan episcopacy fails — as it has failed in every other instance — and the whole weight of evidence is found to be on the side of parity.

I have now passed over the entire ground upon which a scriptural defense of prelacy is attempted; I will not presume that what I have written will convert Episcopalians, for I doubt if many will read it; but I am satisfied, without taking much credit to myself, that no honest and impartial reader will rise from the perusal of these pages and not be convinced that the whole episcopal theory is a baseless fabric of the most indefensible assumptions. There is really nothing in the bible which, when it is sifted, seems to favor that system, but every thing is in direct hostility against it. When I say this, I am sure I do not speak under the heat of a controversial excitement, but express the deliberate conviction in which my mind has rested, ever since I first examined this subject, sixteen years ago, for the determination of my own course, when I proposed entering the christian ministry.

IS THERE AUTHORITY FOR PRESBYTERIAL
ORDINATION?

Our author says on page sixty-eight,—“ We have endeavored to show, and we think, *established conclusively* the fact, that *there are three orders* of ministers recognized in the holy scriptures; that this was the case while Christ was upon earth, Christ himself having been consecrated to the ministry, and occupying the highest, the apostles in the second grade, and the seventy disciples in the lowest. We noticed, also, that after Christ's ascension, the apostles continued the like number of orders; viz., apostles, elders or presbyters, and deacons. We showed that Timothy and Titus succeeded to the apostolical office, and that to them was committed the charge of the presbyters and deacons in Ephesus and Crete: that, as the successors of the apostles, they were constituted supreme rulers in these churches, with exclusive authority in their respective dioceses over both presbyters and deacons, to exercise discipline, correct abuses, and ordain.”

I am sure, that the reader, who has carefully followed me through the topics thus recapitulated, must smile at our author's complacent remembrance of his labors. He proceeds:

“ Thus we clearly traced the *three* orders in the ministry, and proved from apostolic practice and sanction, that the right to govern the church and ordain to the ministry was vested in the highest grade alone. It is true, we did not cite any passage of scripture expressly limiting such power to them. This was unnecessary. We showed, clearly, that such power was positively given to the apostles; it was not given to the presbyters or deacons, and *not being given*, the conclusion is irresistible, that they did not possess it; and therefore an *express limitation* or a positive declaration of holy scripture, that no others but the apostles were authorized to exercise these powers, was

entirely unnecessary. Could we be furnished with a single instance in the New Testament, of presbyters or deacons exercising the right to ordain, though no apostolic injunction could be shown, as in the case of Timothy and Titus, we would yet consider it as endorsed with apostolic sanction, and yield the point in dispute at once; but we find no evidence of such example or sanction for presbyterian ordination, and therefore we are compelled to reject it."

Our author says,— "*We have shown clearly that such power (i. e. power to ordain) was positively given to the apostles.*"

He has shown that this power was given to the *persons* who held the apostolic office, but has he shown that it was given to them *as apostles*? Does not the reader perceive that he entirely *assumes* the very question in debate, without even an attempt to prove it?

The apostles were *presbyters*, as well as apostles.— See 1 Peter v: 1, 2 John i, 3 John i. Now it is indispensable to our author's argument, to show that it was *as apostles*, and not as presbyters, that they received and exercised the ordaining power. We think we have made it clear to every candid reader, that what was *peculiar* and *distinguishing* to the apostles, as such, was the power of *witnessing from personal knowledge of Christ*, and that nothing else of a functional nature was peculiar to them, or distinguished them. If this is so, then the power to ordain was vested in them, not as apostles, but as presbyters.

The power to ordain must have been left by Christ, when he ascended, in some hands; and the men whom he had chosen to be his apostles were the only persons whom he had endowed with any ministerial authority whatever. They, of course, were the persons to provide a ministry for the church. Whether the power to ordain appertained to their apostolical, or presbyterial office, is a question not to be disposed of so easily as Mr. Schuyler seems to imagine. We have attempted to settle it, by showing that this power of ordination was not comprehended

in what was *peculiar* to the apostleship. Let it be made to appear, if it can be, that our argument on that head is unsound.

It may be objected to the texts which we have cited to prove that the apostles were also presbyters, that John does not apply that term to himself as a term of office, but as indicative of his advanced age. Commentators are divided on this point; but I confess, I am unable to see why they should be. "*The elder unto the elect lady.*"—" *The elder unto the well-beloved Gaius.*"—This seems a most singular manner of speaking, if John merely intended to describe himself as a person of great age. Besides, if that were his purpose, why did he use the term "*o presbuteros,*" the term invariably used as the name of the elder's office, and not, as Paul, when he would represent himself as an old man, (see Philem. 9,) the term "*presbutes,*"—the proper, and the *only* proper term to express his meaning, if any derivative of *presbus*, was to be employed? Why should he call himself the *elder man*, and not the *old man*?

But this objection does not lie against the text from 1 Peter.—"The elders which are among you I exhort, who *am also an elder*, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ." There can be no question of Peter's applying the term "*elder*" to himself as a title of office. He positively affirms, that he is an elder *like* the elders whom he exhorts, that he is one of them, holding the same office which they hold, and so far on a level with them. The reader will perceive how, while he acknowledges himself to be an elder, and thus the equal only of the elders whom he exhorts, he claims, at the same time, superiority, and a right to be attended to, on the ground of being something more than an elder,—even "*a witness of the sufferings of Christ,*"—that is, an apostle. What a proof is here that we were right in our argument respecting the apostleship,—that its essential peculiarity was the power of witnessing for Christ!

The original Greek is stronger for Peter's eldership than our translation. Peter calls himself "*o sumpresbuteros,*" *fellow-elder*, expressing more strongly the absolute sameness of the

presbyterial office held by him, with that which was held by those whom he was addressing.

I see no way by which the force of this text may be evaded, but by admitting that Peter was a presbyter, and denying that any other apostle was so; that is, by claiming that Peter was a singular exception, and that, for some unexplained reason, the presbyterial office had been conferred on him alone. This may be *affirmed*, but it will hardly be believed, even by the affirmants. On the contrary, we refer to the text, and show that Peter does not claim to be an elder at all, as though it constituted for him a distinction among the apostles; and besides, we appeal to the commission given by our Lord to all the apostles, to do the very work which presbyters were appointed to perform, — to preach the gospel and administer the sacraments.

Mr. S. admits that the apostles were elders. On page seventy-two of his book, he says, the presbytery which ordained Timothy “*may have been composed only of apostles, for we know that both Peter and John style themselves elders or presbyters.*”

With this important fact proved and admitted, see how the whole argument of our author falls to the ground. “*We showed clearly that such power (i. e. power to ordain) was positively given to the apostles.*” That is to say, he has shown that such power was positively given to *presbyters* — for the apostles were presbyters; and we have shown that as apostles, their sole duty was to be witnesses of Christ.

“*It was not given,*” says our author, “*to the presbyters or deacons, and not being given to them the conclusion is irresistible, that they did not possess it; and therefore an express limitation or a positive declaration of holy scripture, that no others but apostles were authorized to exercise this power, was entirely unnecessary.*” We very cheerfully concede the fact, that it was not given to the deacons, and for the very best of reasons; but it *was* given to presbyters, and, if we may steal the thunder of our author’s most astonishing logic, being given

to them, the conclusion is irresistible, that they *did* possess it, “and therefore an express limitation, or a positive declaration of holy scripture, that no others but” *elders* “were authorized to exercise this power was entirely unnecessary.”

The presbyterial office was the only permanent ministerial office held by the apostles, and consequently the only one which they had the power to impart. They could not impart the apostleship; for, as we have shown, and as Dr. Barrow maintains, with such resistless force of argument, “the apostolical office, as such, was personal and temporary; and therefore, according to its *nature* and *design*, not successive, or communicable to others.” Now, in imparting the presbyterial office, in what character did they act? When, in token of communication, they laid their hands upon a man and ordained him to the presbyterate, did they act as apostles, or as presbyters? as presbyters, certainly, seeing that it was the presbyterial office which they were communicating.

The act of imposition of hands, when it was any thing more than a gesture of designation, as in the bestowment of a blessing, was the outward and visible sign of impartation. Thus the apostles laid hands on those to whom they imparted the Holy Ghost, or any spiritual gift; not as though the Holy Ghost, or the spiritual gift were actually communicated by contact, but, as a significant *sign* of what they did;—a practice, by the way, most absurdly retained by Episcopal bishops in the rite of confirmation. I say absurdly retained, for have they any idea that they bestow the Holy Ghost, or that they impart any spiritual gift whatever? Do they suppose, while they can not lay claim to any other one of the miraculous powers of the apostles, that they have this power,—which was as truly miraculous as any other by which the apostles attested their divine mission? Who has ever seen the evidence in those confirmed by them, that by that act they had received the Holy Ghost, or any other miraculous gifts of grace? The apostles also laid hands on those to whom they imparted office;

whom they ordained, not as though the official character were actually communicated by touch, but for a *sign*. They gave the office, and *signified* it by laying their hands on the head of the person who received the gift. In either case, whether they were communicating grace or office, the imposition of their hands was the *sign of impartation*. Now what I desire to have especially considered is, that in making this sign, they themselves acted in the character of *holders of that which they communicated*. If they imparted spiritual gifts, they did it as possessors of spiritual gifts. If they imparted office, they did it as possessors of the office which they imparted. This was the very thing in which lay the significancy of the manual imposition. It was *as if* the office or the gifts passed from one to the other through the connecting medium thus established. We say, therefore, that in ordaining presbyters, the apostles acted as presbyters. Let it be shown that they ever ordained other apostles, and we will own that in doing this they acted as apostles. But we call in vain for such a showing. If we are reminded of the ordination of the seven deacons as an apparent objection to the statement that has just been made, we would say, that the imposition of the apostles' hands in that case, may have been nothing more than a sign of the communication of spiritual gifts; or, it may be considered, that, as the deacon's office had, until that time, been exercised by the apostles themselves, they, in ordaining the deacons, acted as deacons, giving up, or transferring that particular charge to them.

Says our author,—“*Could we be furnished with a single instance in the New Testament, of presbyters or deacons exercising the right to ordain, though no apostolic injunction could be shown, as in the case of Timothy and Titus, we would yet consider it as endorsed with apostolic sanction, and yield the point in dispute at once; but we can find no evidence of such example or sanction for presbyterian ordination, and therefore we are compelled to reject it.*”

We refer him then to every particular instance of ordination of which a record is made in the New Testament, as just such an instance as he is inquiring after. There is no instance recorded of the apostles ordaining an apostle. They ordained elders, and this they did *as* elders, furnishing at once both the example and the sanction on which rests the right of presbyterian ordination; not only did they themselves ordain elders, but they appointed other elders to do the same, "as in the case of Timothy and Titus." This satisfies us, and it ought to satisfy our author.

For positive proof that the power of ordination was exercised by presbyters, we refer to 1 Timothy iv: 14, "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, *with the laying on of the hands of the PRESBYTERY.*" Our author lays himself out with unusual spirit to do away with the killing force of this passage. His struggles however, only make the matter worse for him. The passage remains, a clear and undeniable record of just such an ordination, as he says he requires but one instance of, to be persuaded to "yield the point in dispute at once."

He begins with a frank admission that the text "*refers to an ordination,*" though he says, "this has been ably disputed by some of our most learned men; and among them, by the able author of the tract, *episcopacy tested by scripture.*" The reason why some Episcopalians have denied that the passage before us refers to an ordination, is very obvious. Some, and among them, the truly able author of the tract, "*Episcopacy tested by Scripture,*" have had the sagacity to perceive, that on this denial rests the only hope of successfully resisting the Presbyterian argument. If the passage presents a case of *ordination*, the debate is essentially ended, for that it was a *presbyterial* ordination is manifest.

We do not require the reader to assume this important point, but we ask him to look at the connection in which the text

stands, and see if the "*gift*" spoken of, can possibly mean any thing else than the *ministerial office* which Timothy had.

Says Paul, in the sixth verse,—“If thou put the brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good minister of Jesus Christ, nourished up in the word of faith and of good doctrine, whereunto thou hast attained. But refuse profane, and old wives’ fables, and exercise thyself unto godliness.” In the eleventh verse he proceeds,—“These things command and teach;—Let no man despise thy youth; but be thou an example of believers,” &c. “Till I come, give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine. *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.* Meditate upon these things: give thyself wholly to them, that thy profiting may appear to all. Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine; continue in them; for in doing this, thou shalt both save thyself and them that hear thee.” Now, what is the *subject* of the apostle’s discourse to Timothy in this place? His *ministry*, evidently. This, then, beyond the possibility of reasonable contradiction, was the *gift* which he is exhorted not to neglect. The author of the tract, “Episcopacy tested by Scripture,” has no way of evading this conclusion, but by supposing that the gift which was in Timothy, “by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery,” was his designation, subsequently to his ministerial ordination, to the particular field of labor he then occupied; as Barnabas and Saul were designated at Antioch—see Acts xiii: 3—to a particular work. The fallacy of such a supposition, however, may be easily exposed. Could the gift of the *ministry* that was in Barnabas and Saul, when they went forth on that special mission, be spoken of as being derived from the solemn form of separation by which they had been set apart to that special work? Did they by that act of consecration to a special work, receive the *ministerial office*? Yet in the present case, the case of Timothy, it was the *very*

gift of the ministry itself, that he is represented as having received by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.

It is to be observed, that Dr. Onderdonk, in the tract, "Episcopacy tested by Scripture," does not *deny* that the text before us relates to Timothy's ordination. He merely ventures an opinion, that it is *susceptible* of a different construction. He says — "Was the laying on of hands, on Timothy, here mentioned, an ordination? It can not, at least, be proved. And comparing scripture with scripture, are we not justified in regarding it as a transaction similar to the one in the case of Barnabas and Saul?"

Beyond all doubt, our author is correct in his admission, that the text we are now considering, describes an *ordination to the ministry*.

The next inquiry relates to the meaning of the word "*presbytery*." "Does it refer," our author asks, "to the body of ordainers, or does it refer to the *office* to which Timothy was ordained?" He proceeds to say — "Many learned men have inclined to the opinion, that it refers to the office," and then cites the names of Calvin and Grotius; the former of whom, in fact, expresses just the contrary opinion, while the latter only *refrains from insisting* on the usual interpretation, out of deference to the opinions of Ambrose and Jerome, and from a mistake which he also seems to have fallen into in regard to the opinion of Calvin. Calvin says, that he thinks the text might bear such an interpretation as that put upon it by Ambrose and Jerome, yet, "they who think that *presbytery* here is a collective name put for the assembly of presbyters, *in my opinion judge rightly*."

"Admitting this interpretation," says our author, "we would have the account, simply, of the ordination of Timothy as a *presbyter*, without any intimation from the passage itself, of the character and office of the person, or persons by whom the act was performed." This, he says, is "*one mode* of interpreting the passage — which divests it of the least color of proof in

favor of Timothy's ordination by presbyters." Has he not rushed from Scylla into Charybdis?

"Me miserable!——which way I fly is,"——

He had probably forgotten that the office to which Timothy was ordained by the presbytery, was at any rate the office which he exercised at *Ephesus*! If he very much desires it, perhaps we might be induced to consent to this interpretation, and instead of using the text as a proof for presbyterial ordination, take it as proving that Timothy was only a presbyter, and not apostolic bishop in the Ephesian church.

We do not deny that Timothy was ordained a presbyter. On the contrary, we affirm it, and we affirm that this text teaches it, inasmuch as it teaches that he was ordained by presbyters, as such, acting together in the capacity of a presbytery. But we think it very absurd to say that the primary and specific meaning of the text is, that Timothy was ordained *to the presbyterate*, and not *by the presbytery*.

Goode, in his "Divine Rule," vol. ii, page sixty-four, referring to a passage in the commentaries on St. Paul's epistles, commonly attributed to Hilary, though by some to Ambrose, says—"Timothy is here said, we may observe, to have been ordained a *presbyter*, and I can not but think that the passage, 1 Tim. iv: 14, is favorable to this view, for without adopting the translation which some have given of this passage, viz., 'with the laying on of hands *for the office of a presbyter*,' if we retain our own version, which appears to me more natural,—who, or what is *the presbytery*? Certainly not consisting altogether of the apostles, though, it appears,—2 Tim. i: 6,—that ordination was received by Timothy partly from St. Paul. But if presbyters joined in that ordination, it could not be to a *higher sacerdotal grade*, or order, than that of the presbyterhood. Nor is this inconsistent with his being called elsewhere an apostle, which name might be given him as one appointed to be superintendent of a church."

Goode thinks that the text teaches, that Timothy was ordained a presbyter, because he was ordained by the *presbytery*, which he is sure must have been composed, in part, at least, of presbyters. He is undoubtedly right, in every thing except in supposing that the presbytery was not composed *altogether* of elders, whatever offices besides may have been held by those who acted as members of it.

The word “presbytery,” *presbuterion*, is never used in the New Testament for the name of an office. It occurs only in two other places — Luke xxii: 66, where it is rendered “elders,” and Acts xxii: 5, where it is rendered “estate of the elders.” In each of these places it refers to the *council* or *assembly* of the elders of the Jews. In the passage now under consideration, it can not refer to that body, for no one will suppose that they ordained men to the office of the christian ministry. As, however, in both of those instances it signifies a body of persons known as elders, so here it signifies some council, or assembly, or body of persons, known by the name of *elders* in the christian church. It is enough to say a *plurality*, or a *collection* of elders. This, at least, it does mean to a perfect certainty, and the attempt to make any thing else of it is the merest folly.

Third. How was this presbytery, which ordained Timothy, constituted? Says our author, after having sacrificed the Ephesian episcopate, in his effort to evade the force of the text in its bearings on the question now pressing him, — “But let us take another view of the passage. Let us admit that the passage in question *does* refer to the assembly of ordainers — the question then arises, who composed this presbytery? It may have been composed only of apostles; for we know that both Peter and John style themselves *elders* or *presbyters*, and we will presently show beyond a doubt, that St. Paul was a member of the ordaining body, and the principal actor.”

Let the reader observe that Mr. Schuyler acknowledges here, that the apostles were *presbyters*, and that he does this for the

very purpose of showing that the presbytery which ordained Timothy *may* have been made up wholly of *them*. That is, he admits that none but presbyters could have been members of the presbytery. Of course he admits this, when he finds it necessary to state the fact that the apostles were presbyters, in order to sustain his supposition that the presbytery "may have been composed only of apostles." Now, it is a matter of the utmost indifference to us, whether all who composed that presbytery were apostles, or whether not one was an apostle. Let it go at that, that every man of them was an apostle. What then? Were they members of the presbytery *as apostles*, or *as presbyters*? Was the presbytery, strictly speaking, a body of apostles, or was it a body of presbyters? — We care not what other offices the persons composing this presbytery may have held. It was as presbyters that they constituted a presbytery, and what they did as a presbytery they did in their presbyterial capacity, and in no other. Timothy, therefore, was ordained by *presbyters*.

If Timothy had been ordained by the apostles, as such, why does not Paul say, "The gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy with the laying on of the hands of the *apostles*?" Why does he say, "With the laying on of the hands of the *presbytery*," unless those who participated in this transaction did so in the character of presbyters? Mr. Barnes, in his notes on this passage, has the following pertinent remarks: "The statement here is just such a one as would now be made respecting a Presbyterian ordination. It is *not* one which would be made of an Episcopal ordination. A Presbyterian would choose *these very words*, in giving an account of an ordination to the work of the ministry; an Episcopalian *would not*. The former speaks of an ordination by a *presbytery*; the latter of an ordination by a *bishop*. The former can use the account of the apostle Paul here as applicable to an ordination, without explanations, comments, new versions, or criticisms; the latter can not. The passage, therefore, is full of

proof that, in one of the most important ordinations mentioned in the New Testament, it was performed by an association of men, and not by a prelate, and *therefore*, that this was the primitive mode of ordination." The passage, I may add, is full of proof that it was performed by an association of men acting as presbyters, whatever other offices they may have held, and not acting in any other capacity; and therefore, that the primitive mode of ordination was strictly presbyterial, and not episcopal.

Our author says, "Great diversity of opinion prevails among the advocates of parity, as to the persons who composed this presbytery." I would like to know if any less diversity of opinion prevails among the advocates of imparity. No one knows who the *persons* were, except that Paul was one of them. If we are ignorant as to *who* the persons were, we are not ignorant as to *what* they were. We know that they were all presbyters, from the fact that they were constituent members of a presbytery. He proposes an appeal to the fathers, and quotes Ignatius as using the following language: "Fleeing to the apostles as the presbytery of the church." Ignatius here represents the apostles as exercising the chief authority in the church, which, while they lived, they unquestionably did. But in what character did they exercise this chief authority? As a college of apostles? No; *as a presbytery*. It was as presbyters that they *ruled*, and were thus a refuge for the distressed and the perplexed, and not as apostles. We thank our author for helping us to this authority. It is important, as going to show, that not in ordination merely, but in government also, the apostles always acted as a presbytery. As apostles they were *witnesses of Christ*, but it was as presbyters that they ordained ministers and governed the churches. Our author infers from the words of Ignatius, that in his day the word *presbytery* "might refer to a body of apostles alone." We quite agree with him. It is a fair inference. The apostles, therefore, were presbyters as well as apostles. He quotes St.

Chrysostom, as saying on this passage — “By eldership, (presbytery,) he means, not presbyters but bishops, for presbyters did not ordain bishops.” But he has himself acknowledged that one way of disposing of the text, is to regard it as teaching that Timothy was ordained to the presbyterate. Will he now stultify himself by proving that he was ordained a bishop? If we had been told where this saying of Chrysostom is found, we might then look for it, and see whether this father ever used such words. All I have to say is, that if he did use such words, he was mistaken; for it is absurd to say, that by “eldership” Paul did not mean *elders*. We might as well be told, that by the membership of a church is not meant its *members*. With all due respect for his saintship, Chrysostom should not have written nonsense, if he expected his words to have authority in the nineteenth century. *Theodoret* says, — we are not informed where, — “that the ministers who, with St. Paul, consecrated Timothy, were those who were vouchsafed the favor to be apostles.” We have said already, that we are quite willing to have it so. If *Theodoret* had said, that it was *as apostles* and not *as presbyters*, that they consecrated Timothy, the testimony would have been worth contradicting; but as it stands, we are quite willing that it should stand.

“We think then,” says our author, “we may safely conclude that the *probabilities* are, that apostles composed this presbytery; and at any rate, that there is so much doubt about the meaning of the term, that Presbyterians build upon a very frail foundation, when they alledge this passage as the basis on which they lay their claim for the right of ordination by mere presbyters.”

Instead of laboring to show that apostles composed this presbytery, the true point for him to elucidate was, that they composed it *as apostles*, and not *as presbyters*. He owns that they were presbyters; why will he not allow them ever to act as presbyters? Why, when they are especially said by inspiration itself, to have done a thing as a presbytery, that is, as an

assembly of presbyters, will he and all other Episcopalians insist upon it, that they did it as apostles? We say again, we care not by whom Timothy was ordained, so long as he was ordained by the *presbytery*. A frail foundation, is it, on which to lay our claim for the right of ordination by mere presbyters? Pray tell us what kind of a foundation it is then, on which to lay a claim for the right of ordination by those who are *not* presbyters? — or by a mere diocesan bishop? Let the instance be shown in the New Testament, where the act of ordination was ever performed by a single individual, or by any number of individuals, who were not *elders*? The instance can not be produced. Did Timothy ordain *alone* at Ephesus? Prove it. Or Titus in Crete? Prove it. Were they any thing more than elders in the character of their permanent ministry? Prove it. These assumptions, we think, have been sufficiently disposed of on a former occasion.

Our author's argument to show that Paul took part in Timothy's ordination might have been spared. We cheerfully admit it. But we utterly deny that Paul was, in any peculiar sense, the ordainer. In the second epistle to Timothy, he says — "That thou stir up the gift of God that is in thee, by the laying on of my hands." Mr. S. prints the word "MY" in capitals, and then adds, — "Here, then, St. Paul expressly reminds Timothy of the fact that he had been ordained by *him*, without the least intimation that his commission had been conferred by any other." Does he, then, give up the idea that the presbytery may have been composed only of apostles?

We affirm that Paul, *as a presbyter*, acted with the other presbyters who composed the presbytery. Except as a presbyter, he could not have been a constituent member of that body; for a presbytery, in the nature of the case, is not made up of presbyters and *others*, — but of presbyters alone. It is a body of presbyters merely. And the text in 2 Timothy is in perfect consistency with this view of the subject. Says Mr. Barnes, in commenting on this place, — "The language here

used, 'by the putting on of *my* hands,' is just such as Paul, or any other one of the presbyters, would use in referring to the ordination of Timothy, though they were all regarded as on a level. It is such an expression as an aged Presbyterian, or Congregational, or Baptist minister would address to a son whom he had assisted to ordain. Nothing would be more natural than to remind him that *his own* hands had been laid on him when he was set apart to the work of the ministry. It would be in the nature of a tender, pathetic, and solemn appeal, bringing all that there was in his own character, age, and relation to the other, to bear on him, in order to induce him to be faithful to his trust. On other occasions he would naturally remind him that others had united with him in the act, and that he had derived his authority through the presbytery, just as Paul appeals to Timothy — 1 Tim. iv: 14. But no one would now think of inferring from this, that he meant to be understood as saying, that *he alone* had ordained him, or, that all the authority for preaching the gospel had been imparted through his hands, and that those who were associated with him only expressed *concurrence*; that is, that their presence there was only an unmeaning ceremony.

It is sometimes pretended, that there is a certain peculiarity in the different forms of expression in 1 Tim. iv: 14, where the presbytery is spoken of, and in 2 Tim. i: 6, where Paul speaks of himself alone as acting in this ordination. In the former case, it is "*meta*," *with* the laying on, &c. In the latter, it is "*dia*," *by* the putting on, &c. This is a very poor refuge; for, without going into a very critical examination of these Greek prepositions, "*meta*" and "*dia*," I am persuaded that no scholar will insist upon a distinction between them, that can be made to avail any thing in help of the Episcopal argument. They are undoubtedly prepositions, which, in cases like the present might be used interchangeably, as conveying precisely the same idea. But a Greek scholar, in looking at 1 Tim. iv: 14, will readily see why the apostle chose "*meta*" there, rather

than "*dia*." The latter preposition had been used the instant before with *propheteias*, (*dia propheteias*, *by prophecy*,) and it was partly to avoid repetition that *meta* was used, though not for this purpose alone. Timothy received the gift by prophecy. There had been, as we see from 1 Tim. i: 18, certain predictions going before respecting him, of which, particularly, we are not informed. But he was regarded as a person specially designated, by the prophetic spirit, to the work of the ministry. He was looked upon, I suppose on account of his peculiar early promise, as one raised up and especially qualified of God to be a minister of the gospel, and prophets in the early church had foretold his future usefulness. Now, the preposition "*meta*" was chosen as better than "*dia*" for representing the concurrence of the presbytery in his ordination with the prophecies that had gone before respecting him. "The gift that is in thee *by* prophecy *with* the laying on," &c. The "*dia*," that precedes *propheteias*, truly governs all that follows, and *meta*, strictly speaking, is not a governing, but connecting particle, so that, in point of fact, the texts in 1 Timothy and 2 Timothy are not different, — "*dia*" being the governing preposition in both cases.

The text in 1 Timothy declares, that he was ordained by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. In 2 Timothy, Paul says, "By the putting of *my* hands."— Now, how is the apparent contradiction to be reconciled? Can it be done by considering the *literal fact* as expressed in the second epistle? No; for that would make the assertion in the first epistle *false*. If the ordination was really effected by the laying on of Paul's hands, then the presbytery, as such, had nothing to do with it. May the apparent contradiction be reconciled by supposing that the *literal fact* is expressed in the first epistle? Yes; for we have seen already, that in that case there would be no impropriety whatever in Paul's saying, "By the putting on of my hands." It would be a natural way of speaking, and just such as any other member of the presbytery might, with entire

propriety, have used. Timothy *was* ordained by the putting on of Paul's hands, though not by the putting on of Paul's hands alone.

We desire our author carefully to read what we have now written, and then to say frankly whether he still thinks he has so "satisfactorily disposed of this *strong passage*." It seems to us, that so far from having disposed of it, as he imagines he has done, his attempt to do so, has pretty effectually disposed of him and of his cause.

We propose now, to inquire how the testimony of the early fathers bears upon this question respecting the right to ordain.

TESTIMONY OF THE FATHERS ON THIS SUBJECT.

Presuming that it will not be denied that *bishops* were invested with the power of ordination, it is directly in point to show, that during the two first centuries there was no distinction, as to their grade of office, between bishops and presbyters. If this can be made satisfactorily to appear, the conclusion will be inevitable that, during the first two centuries, presbyters ordained.

The reader is already aware, that by the admission of Episcopalians themselves, bishops and presbyters are *the same* in the New Testament. Thus, Paul having assembled the *presbyters* of Ephesus at Miletus, — Acts xx: 28, — addressed them all as *bishops*, and exhorted them to perform with fidelity the duties of the episcopal office. It is affirmed, however, that immediately after the New Testament times the mode of expression was changed, and that wherever the word *bishop* occurs in the writings of the early fathers, it has a meaning essentially different from that which it has in the writings of the apostles, — standing for a minister, like the modern diocesan prelate, distinct from presbyters in the grade of his office, and superior to them. Apart from the evidence of the writings themselves, the only ancient authority adduced

for such a change is Theodoret, who flourished in the latter part of the fourth century, the inadequacy of whose testimony must be apparent to every one, because he does not specify the period at which the change took place, but only says, that it was introduced after the days of the apostles, "in process of time." Theodoret testifies to nothing which we do not know from other sources. No one can read the fathers in succession down to his time, and not discover for himself, how, with "the process of time," after the year 200, the system of prelacy gradually developed itself, and the term *bishop* acquired, by usage, its new and unscriptural meaning. Now, I desire to show, by numerous quotations, that this change was not introduced until after the close of the second century, and that up to that time, presbyters and bishops were, as in the times of the apostles themselves, of one grade, and had the same powers.

I may state here, that for my quotations from the ancient fathers, I am mainly indebted to Coleman's "Christian Antiquities" and "Apostolical and Primitive Church," to Eusebius, and to the ecclesiastical histories of Neander and Gieseler.

I cite first, the testimony of *Clement*, who wrote about A. D. 96. His epistle, written in the name of the church at Rome to the church at Corinth, is the earliest and most authentic of all the writings of the apostolical fathers, and was held in such high esteem by the early christians, that it was publicly read for the common benefit in their assemblies, in the same manner as the sacred scriptures.—See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 3, c. 16. No ancient writing of its class is of comparable authority with historians. This father, in his entire epistle, mentions but two grades of officers in the church, *bishops* and *deacons*; his style being precisely similar to that of the New Testament writers. No intimation can be gathered from him of the existence of such a person at Corinth as a prelate; but he invariably speaks of the *presbyters* who had been rejected by that church, as persons holding the highest ministerial rank. He says,—Epist. sec. 42, p. 57,—“Preaching therefore in countries and cities,

they, *i. e.* the apostles, appointed the first fruits of their labors, having, by the spirit, judged them worthy, *bishops and deacons* of them that should believe." These, according to Clement, are the two offices in the church, as it was originally constituted by the apostles.

"It were a great sin in us," he says,—Sec. 44, p. 58, "if we should reject those who have blamelessly and piously discharged the functions of the episcopal office;" and immediately adds, "blessed are those *presbyters*, who, having finished their course, have obtained their final deliverance and reward." Will it be denied that he here identifies, as one and the same class of persons, *presbyters* and those who discharged the functions of the *episcopal office*?

Says Riddle, — Christ. Antiq. page 5, comp. Waddington's Church Hist. page 35, and Campbell's Lectures, page 72, — "Clement, himself, was not even aware of the distinction between *presbyters* and *bishops*, — terms which, in fact, he used as synonymous."

The next witness is *Polycarp*, who, we are informed, was familiar with those who had seen the Lord, and is commonly supposed to have been the angel of the church at Smyrna, Rev. ii: 8. His testimony agrees exactly with Clement's. He knows of but two grades of officers in the church, *presbyters* and *deacons*. In his whole epistle he does not once use the word "bishop," but represents the *presbyters* as exercising all authority in the church, and discharging all ministerial functions, without affording the least intimation of any one being placed over them, or having authority superior to theirs.

The salutation of his epistle is as follows: "*Polycarp and the presbyters with him*, to the church of God, dwelling at Philippi, mercy to you," &c. He was undoubtedly the president of the church at Smyrna, *i. e.* the elder whom the church had chosen to occupy the first place, and to conduct public worship; in other words, their pastor, or if you please, in the scriptural sense, their *bishop*.

He exhorts the Philippians to "*be subject to their presbyters and deacons;*" an exhortation singularly inappropriate, if the government of their church had been committed to a bishop. In the fifth and sixth chapters he describes the qualifications necessary for presbyters and deacons, without any allusion to any higher office.

The epistle of Paul to the Philippians is addressed "to all the saints in Christ Jesus, which are at Philippi, *with the bishops and deacons.*" He recognizes two grades of officers there, and only two,—*bishops*, universally conceded to have been simple presbyters, and deacons. Polycarp, like Clement, recognizes the same, showing that in his time, about the middle of the second century, there had been no change. Things remained precisely as they were, at the time when Episcopalians themselves confess that *bishop* and *presbyter* were convertible terms.

Justin Martyr, who was cotemporary with Polycarp, gives testimony to the same effect. He describes—Apol. i, c. 65, p. 82, also, c. 67, p. 83—the mode of conducting public worship and of administering the Lord's supper in his time. In these accounts, no officers appear but the "president of the brethren," officiating as minister, and the deacons, who distribute the elements of bread and wine to the communicants. This president (*proestos*,) is the person claimed by Episcopalians, if any one can be, as the prelate bishop. But there is no ground, whatever, for such an opinion. His duties are those of a mere pastor, and Justin says not one word which can possibly be so construed, as to make any thing more of him than the officiating presbyter. He is distinguished from the deacons, but from no other class of officers in the church. Says Milton,—prose works, Griswold's edition, vol. 1, p. 37—"But that place of Justin Martyr, serves rather to convince the author, than to make for him, where the name '*proestos ton adelphon*,' the president or pastor of the brethren, (for to what end is he their president but to teach them?) can not be limited to signify a

prelatical bishop, but rather communicates that Greek appellation to every ordinary presbyter; for there he tells what the christians had wont to do in their several congregations,—to read and expound, to pray and administer; all which, he says, the *proestos*, or antistes, did. Are these the offices only of a bishop, or shall we think that every congregation, where these things were done, which he attributes to this antistes, had a bishop present among them?—unless they had as many antistites as presbyters, which this place rather seems to imply; and so we may infer, even from their own alledged authority, ‘that antistes was nothing else than presbyter.’

Ireneus, who died soon after the commencement of the third century, uses the terms “bishop” and “presbyter” interchangeably, as having the same meaning. Speaking of Marcion, Valentinus, Cerinthus, and other heretics, he says—*Adv. Haer. L. 3, c. 2, sec. 2*—“When we refer them to that apostolic tradition, which is preserved in the churches, through the succession of their *presbyters*, these men oppose the tradition; pretending that, being more wise than not only the presbyters but the apostles themselves, they have found the uncorrupted truth.” Let it be observed, that here the tradition from the apostles is spoken of as preserved through the succession of *presbyters*. In the very next section, pursuing the same subject, he styles these same presbyters *bishops*. He says—“We can enumerate those who were constituted by the apostles *bishops* in the churches, and their successors, even down to our time. But because it would be tedious, in such a volume as this, to enumerate the successions in all the churches, showing you the tradition and declared faith,” &c. It is thus evident that *Ireneus* still used the term “bishop” in the scriptural sense, and that so late as his time presbyter and bishop were synonymous words.

Again,—*Eusebius*, book 5, ch. 20—*Ireneus* calls Polycarp bishop, and yet uses concerning him the following language: “And I can bear witness in the sight of God, that if that

blessed and apostolic *presbyter* had heard any such thing as this," &c.

Again. Ireneus says, — L. 4, c. 26, pp. 262, 263 — "We ought to obey those *presbyters* in the church, who have succession, as we have shown, from the apostles; who, with the succession of the *episcopate*, received the certain gift of truth, according to the good pleasure of the father.

"And truly, they who by many are regarded as *presbyters*, but serve their own pleasures, and not having the fear of God in their hearts, but elated with the pride of their exaltation to the chief seat, commit wickedness in secret, saying, no one seeth us — they shall be convicted. From all such we ought to withdraw, and as we have said, to adhere to those who maintain the doctrine of the apostles, and who, with the order of the *presbytership* preserve sound doctrine, and a blameless conversation for the confirmation and reproof of others."

Again — L. 4, c. 26, sec. 1 — he says, that "they who cease to serve the church in the ministry, are a reproach to the sacred order of the *presbyters*."* The same persons in the immediate context are called "*bishops*."

In his letter to Victor, at Rome, — Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. 5, c. 20 — he speaks of the *presbyters* who had presided over the church in that city before *that bishop*, and of one particularly, Anicetus, whom Polycarp had urged in vain to "retain the usage of the *presbyters* who had preceded him."

These quotations from Ireneus do not require to be commented upon. Their testimony is plain and directly to the point. They definitely settle the question that, in his time, nothing was known of an episcopal order in the ministry, distinct from *presbyters* and above them. The *presbyters* themselves, according to New Testament usage, are represented as *bishops*, having, as Presbyterians maintain, the true "succession from the apostles, who with the succession of the *episcopate* have received the certain gift of truth." Our adversaries may

attempt, with their glosses, to avert the force of this witness against them, but they cannot explain away the fact which he asserts in so many ways, that, in his day, there was no distinction between the episcopal and the presbyterial order.

Clemens Alexandrinus, A. D. 194, illustrating another subject by the ministry of the christian church, says — *Paedag.*, Lib., 3, p. 264 — “Just so in the church, the presbyters are entrusted with the dignified ministry; the deacons, with the subordinate.” Does he know of any other order of officers than those which he here names? How singular would be his manner of speaking, if there were an episcopal order above, and distinct from, those whom he describes as “entrusted with the dignified ministry.”

This father, in his treatise — “What rich man can be saved?” chapter 42, pp. 667–669, relates — that the apostle John, being deeply interested in the singular beauty of a young man, whom he on one occasion observed in a christian assembly, turned in the presence of the church and commended him “*to the bishop who presided over all*,” with strict charge that he should watch over him, and be responsible for his safety. The narrative then informs us that “*this presbyter*” took the young man to his own house, and endeavored to discharge the duty which the apostle had enjoined upon him. The young man afterward was seduced from his protector, and lost. John, on his return, addressed this presbyter as a *bishop*, saying, “O bishop, restore to us your charge.” Here again, the terms bishop and presbyter are used interchangeably.

Tertullian, cotemporary with the last witness, both having died the same year, A. D. 220, describes the worship of christian assemblies in terms very similar to those employed by Justin. He says — *Apol.*, c. 59 — “Certain approved *elders* preside, who have obtained that honor, not by price, but by the evidence of their fitness.” He says — *De Corona.*, c. 3, p. 102 — “We never take from the hands of others than presidents, *prasidentium*, the sacrament of the eucharist.”

This president is beyond dispute identical with Justin Martyr's *proestos*; and we are thus informed distinctly, that the *proestos* was an *approved elder*, chosen by the people, for his *fitness*, to be their minister.

Can any candid person examine these testimonies, and have a doubt remaining, that for the first two centuries, at least, the term "bishop" retained in the church its scriptural meaning, and that bishops and presbyters were the same? I see no way for an honest denial of these facts. If then, during these two centuries, bishops ordained, it is but another form of saying that presbyters did so.

Jerome, who flourished in the fifth century, asserts what I have now established, by cotemporary authorities, as an *historical fact*, which in his time could not be disputed. In his commentary on Titus i: 5, he sets forth, in the most forcible manner, the scripture doctrine on this subject of the equality of presbyters with bishops, and adds, "Our intention in these remarks is to show, that among the ancients, *presbyters and bishops* were THE VERY SAME, but that *by little and little*, (*paulatim*) that the plants of dissensions might be plucked up, the whole concern was devolved upon an individual. As the presbyters therefore *know* that they are subjected *by the custom of the church*, to him who is set over them, so let the bishops know that they are greater than presbyters, *more by custom* than by *any real appointment of Christ*."

Mr. Schuyler has endeavored — pp. 95, 96, 97,— to do away with this testimony, by affirming, that the change of which Jerome speaks, took place in the apostles' time, and must therefore have been approved of by them. But how utterly inconsistent is this with the fact, that it is on the very authority of the apostles themselves, in their writings, that Jerome grounds his argument for the original equality of bishops and presbyters. Let it be proved from *the writings of the apostles*, that the change of which Jerome testifies, was introduced in their day. I know that the phrase, "*little by little*," (*paulatim*), is

indefinite as to *time*, but it is not indefinite as to the *fact*, which alone is important, that the change was not brought about by *authority*, but that it came in *gradually*, as all *new customs* do. The testimony of this father is clear and explicit in regard to the main thing, that, according to the original constitution of the church, bishops and presbyters were the same, and that the distinction between them, which prevailed in his age, was *not by divine appointment*, but a *human invention for the cure of schism*.

Admissions from distinguished Episcopalians on this point might be furnished to almost any extent, but it is not necessary.

It may be expected that I shall offer some positive and direct testimony in favor of the practice of ordination by presbyters in the early church.

Says Dr. Miller,—see his letters, page 108,—“The friends of prelacy have often, and with much apparent confidence, challenged us to produce out of all the early fathers, a single instance of an *ordination* performed by presbyters. Those who give this challenge might surely be expected in all decency and justice, to have a case of *Episcopal* ordination ready to be brought forward from the same venerable records. But have they ever produced such a case? They have not. Nor can they produce it. As there is unquestionably no instance mentioned in scripture, of any person with the title of *bishop* performing an ordination; so it is equally certain that no such instance has been found in any christian writer within the first two centuries. Nor can a single instance be produced of a person, already ordained as a presbyter, receiving a new and second ordination as a bishop. To find a precedent favorable to their doctrine, the advocates of episcopacy have been under the necessity, of wandering into periods, when the simplicity of the gospel, had, in a considerable degree, given place to the devices of men; and when the *man of sin* had commenced that system of unhallowed usurpation, which for so many centuries corrupted and degraded the church of God.”

What Episcopalians can not produce for their system, we can for ours.

Fermilian, writing from Asia Minor to Cyprian in Carthage, A. D. 256, in explanation of the ecclesiastical polity of the churches there, says — Cyp. Epist. 75, p. 145, — “All power and grace is vested in the *church*, where the presbyters preside, who have authority to baptize, to impose hands, (in the reconciling of penitents) and to *ordain*.” On this, Coleman remarks, “The episcopal hierarchy was not fully established in these eastern churches, so early as in the western. Accordingly we find the presbyters here, in the full enjoyment of their original right to ordain. The general tenor of the letter, in connection with this passage, exhibits the popular government of the apostolical churches, as yet continuing among the churches in Asia. The highest authority is vested in the members of the church, who still administer their own government. No restrictions have yet been laid upon the presbyters in the administration of ordinances. Whatever clerical grace is essential for the right administration of baptism, of consecration, and of ordination, is still retained by the presbyters.”

The author of the commentaries of the epistles of St. Paul, either Ambrose or Hilary, more probably the latter, says — on Eph. iv: 11, 12, — “The apostle calls Timothy, created by him a presbyter, a *bishop*, for the first presbyters were called bishops, that when he departed, *the one that came next might succeed him*. Moreover, in Egypt the presbyters confirm, if a bishop be not present. But because the presbyters that followed began to be found unworthy to hold the primacy, the custom was altered; the council foreseeing that not *order* but *merit*, ought to make a bishop; and that he should be appointed by the judgment of many priests, lest an unworthy person should rashly usurp the office, and be a scandal to many.”

It must be admitted, that according to the understanding of this author, one made a presbyter, by the apostolical rule, needed no other ordination in order to assume the functions of

the episcopal office, and that the highest presbyter in any church, was ipso facto, its bishop, until in later times a different custom was introduced.

The same author says again, — on 1 Tim. iii: 8, — “After the bishop, the apostle has subjoined the ordination (order) of the deaconship. Why, but that the ordination (order) of a bishop and presbyter, is one and the same? for each is a priest, but the bishop is chief, so that every bishop is a presbyter, but not every presbyter a bishop. *For he is bishop who is chief among the presbyters.* Moreover, he notices that Timothy was ordained a presbyter, *but inasmuch as he had no other above him, he was a bishop.*” Hence he shows that Timothy, a *presbyter*, might *ordain a bishop*, because of his equality with him. “For it was neither lawful nor right for an inferior to ordain a superior, inasmuch as one can not confer what he has not received.

On this, and other similar authorities, Coleman remarks, — Apost. and Prim. Church, p. 182, — “The full sacerdotal power is possessed by every presbyter, according to the authority of the earliest fathers. The *apostolical* fathers know no distinction between bishops and presbyters; and *later* ones make no difference in their *order* or *grade of rank*. The distinction of *bishop* is only a conventional arrangement, made for mutual convenience, but in no wise incapacitating the presbyter for the performance of any of his sacerdotal offices. The right to ordain still belongs to him; and the bishop, when selected to preside over his fellow-presbyters, receives no new consecration or ordination, but continues himself to ordain *as a presbyter*.

“Such is a plain statement of this controverted point, and such the exposition which many Episcopal writers, even at the present day, give of this subject. But if the delusive doctrine of divine right and apostolical succession be given up, the validity of presbyterian ordination is conceded. Such Episcopalians, therefore, themselves, afford us the fullest refutation of the absurd and arrogant pretensions of high church episcopacy.”

Jerome, in his famous epistle to Evagrius, or Evangelus, rebukes with great severity those who had preferred deacons in honor, "*above presbyters, i. e. bishops.*" Having thus asserted the identity of presbyters and bishops, he goes on to prove his position by Phil. i: 1, Acts xx: 17, 28, Titus i: 5, 1 Tim. iv: 14, and 1 Pet. v: 1. He says,—“Does the testimony of these men seem of small account to you? Then clangs the gospel trumpet,—that son of thunder whom Jesus so much loved, and who drank at the fountain of truth from the Saviour’s breast. ‘The *presbyter* to the elect lady and her children,’—2 John i: 1; and in another epistle, ‘The *Presbyter* to the well-beloved Gaius,’—3 John i: 1.

“As to the fact, that AFTERWARD, one was elected to preside over the rest, this was done as a remedy against schism; lest every one drawing his proselytes to himself, should rend the church of Christ; for even at Alexandria, from the evangelist Mark to the bishops Heraclas and Dionysius, the *presbyters* always chose one of their number, placed him in a superior station, and called him *bishop*, in the same manner as if an army should *make* an emperor, or the deacons should choose one of their number, whom they knew to be particularly active, and should call him *archdeacon*; for, excepting ordination, what is done by a bishop, that may not be done by a presbyter?”

The bishop, then, received his authority from the presbyters. They *made* him. All the ordination that he had from any source, he had from them, and such, Jerome tells us, was the usage “*in every country.*”

As to the question,—“For excepting ordination, what is done by a bishop that may not be done by a presbyter?” The reader will perceive that he is referring to a distinction of official powers that had obtained *in his time*, and arguing from the fact that no *other* distinction was then recognized, for the original identity of the episcopal and presbyterial offices. It is equivalent therefore, to the strongest kind of an

affirmation, that originally, ordination was one of the functions of presbyters.

It will be remembered that Jerome flourished near the latter end of the fourth century, at which time, it is well known that Episcopal usurpations had almost universally crowded out the primitive order of church polity. He wrote against the very same prelatical assumptions that we complain of and protest against. Bishops had begun to assume exclusive rights as a distinct and higher order of the christian ministry, to claim that the apostolical succession was with them alone, and to assert authority, as if they themselves were apostles, over other ministers. Against these claims, utterly without foundation in the scriptures, or in the history of the church, this learned father, second to none of that age, hurls his indignant rebukes, and teaches the bishops that their order, as distinct from presbyters, was of recent date, founded on no divine appointment, but merely on *a custom of the church*; and that, in point of fact, they were nothing more or better, in the actual grade of their ministry than presbyters, having no right whatever which the presbyters had not conceded to them.

Coleman says truly,—Apost. and Prim. Church, p. 189,—“The rights of presbyters to ordain, and the validity of presbyterian ordination were never called in question, until the bishops began, about the middle of the third century, to assert the doctrine of the apostolical succession.”

We ask from our Episcopal brethren, clear evidence from the first two centuries, that there was any recognized distinction between bishops and presbyters, as to the *grade of their ministry*. A mere blazoning of the *name* “bishop,” they *must* see, can be of no avail in this argument. We know well enough that there were those who were *called* bishops, but what is that to us, or what weight can it have in this dispute. Let them prove that these bishops were any thing more than the pastors of the churches, the presiding presbyters. Let them prove that they belonged to a distinct and peculiar *order*; that

being presbyters, they were made bishops by a *new ordination*. They *know* that they can not prove this. It is all in vain to challenge them to the proof of it. All that they can give us, is the testimony of hierarchists like themselves, who lived in those later times, when episcopacy had become generally prevalent; testimony which we value no more than we do that of hierarchists living now. If they can not give the proof for which we ask, it is absurd for them, in the face of proof which we bring, to deny, that in the times referred to, presbyters ordained, and that by the original constitution of the church, they were the sole ordainers.

Among the fathers of the first two centuries, our opponents rely almost exclusively on Ignatius. That the real value of this father's testimony may be understood, I refer the reader to the article headed "The Ignatian Epistles," in my notice of Mr. Schuyler's appendix. Among all the early christian writers, no one is so little to be relied upon as a witness. I do not mean to speak disrespectfully of Ignatius, but it is notorious that forgeries innumerable have been committed upon his name, and that his genuine works have been so obscured by interpolations, that it is hardly possible to know what was written by him, and what was not. Of the seven epistles now ascribed to him, four are certainly *doubtful*, and recent evidence has been discovered which seems likely to divest them even of the little authority which they have hitherto had. Nevertheless, let us examine our author's authorities from this father, and see what, even admitting their genuineness, is their real value to his cause.

First, he quotes from the epistles to the Magnesians:

"Seeing then that I have been judged worthy to see you, by Damas, your most excellent *bishop*, and by your very worthy *presbyters*, Bassus and Apollonius, and by my fellow-servant Sotio, the *deacon*, in whom I rejoice, forasmuch as he is subject unto his bishop, as to the grace of God, and to the presbytery as to the law of Jesus Christ; I determined to write unto you."

Now, will my brother so impose upon himself and his readers, as to maintain that because, in the church of the Magnesians there was a person whom they styled "*bishop*," with others whom they called "*presbyters*" and a *deacon*, that therefore the Magnesians had the episcopal government, as he understands it! Was that bishop a *prelate*? was he of an *order* distinct from the presbyters? This is just the way in which our brethren of the episcopal faith are ever reasoning. When the writings of the apostles in the New Testament are considered, they have a boundless contempt for *names*. Then they look at *things* and at nothing *but* things; but the very moment they come to the fathers, *names* become all-important, and for *things* they care nothing at all. There is absolutely nothing in this passage from Ignatius, which can be tortured into a significancy adverse to our doctrine, that, in the time of this father, one elder, chosen by the people, was the minister of the church under the name of *president*, or *bishop*, with no distinction in his grade of office, from the other presbyters.

In my sermon, I quoted Ignatius as commending subjection "*to the presbytery as to the law of Christ*," in proof that presbyters, in his day, held the supreme authority in the church. I refer the reader again to those very words in the passage above cited by Mr. Schuyler, as proving what I affirmed in my sermon that they proved. Who composed the *presbytery*? All the presbyters, undoubtedly, including him — who, as the minister or presiding elder, was called bishop. Will our author deny that the supreme authority was vested in that body?

Ignatius commends Sotio, the deacon, for being "subject unto his *bishop*, as to the grace of God." The bishop, as such, is here spoken of as the *pastor* or *spiritual teacher*, and not as the *ruler*. The words can not bear any other interpretation. Sotio was subject to his *bishop* as a spiritual teacher, but "*to the presbytery*" (not *presbyters*, as Mr. Schuyler has printed it, through mistake, I suppose,) "*as to the law of Jesus Christ*. Where did Ignatius understand the *government* to be? Not

in the bishop, but in the *presbytery*. This is so plain, that it can not be reasonably disputed. For an illustration of the sense in which "subjection to the bishop as to the grace of God" is to be understood, the reader may be referred to the latter part of the fifth, and the first part of the sixth chapters of 2 Corinthians. The apostle having described himself and his fellow-apostles as entrusted with the ministry of reconciliation, and as being, in this respect, "embassadors for Christ," says, "We then, as workers together with him, beseech you also that ye receive not the *grace of God* in vain." As ministers of the gospel, not as governors, they brought the *grace of God* to men. It was committed to them for dispensation, as preachers of it. Subjection to them, or to any ministers, therefore, as to the grace of God, was subjection to them as God's messengers, by believing and obeying the truth which they preached. Very different is the idea conveyed, when we read of subjection "to the *presbytery*, as to the *law of Jesus Christ*." In the other case, it is subjection to a *religious teacher*; here it is subjection to *ecclesiastical governors*.

Our author's next quotation is from the epistle of Ignatius to the Trallians, — "He that is within the altar is pure, but he that is without, *i. e.* that does any thing without the bishop, and presbyters, and deacons, is not pure in his conscience." Not to say any thing of the christian doctrine expressed in this quotation, which, so far as it is plain, is very absurd, what is gained for episcopacy by the mere occurrence of the terms "bishop, and presbyters, and deacons?" Every well organized Presbyterian church, at the present day, has a "bishop, and presbyters, and deacons." Was the bishop of whom Ignatius speaks, a *diocesan bishop* or *prelate*? What *kind* of a bishop was he? *That* is the question. We have heaped proof upon proof that the bishops of those days were mere *presbyters*, chosen from among their fellow-presbyters to occupy the chief place, to conduct public worship, and administer the sacraments, and that they were not reordained. It is positively sickening

to have such testimonies as these forever crowded before us, when our opponents must know that they determine nothing.

This is the character of all the testimony from Ignatius. He speaks often of bishops, and very extravagantly of the dignity of their office, and often speaks of them in connection with presbyters and deacons, but never once affirms any thing from which it can be inferred that bishops belonged to a higher and distinct order in the ministry. His language is always such as a very high-church Presbyterian, filled with extravagant and absurd notions respecting ministerial authority, would be likely to use.

Mr. Schuyler says, in support of the authority of Ignatius, that "Polycarp, in his letter to the Philippians, indorses all that Ignatius wrote." He can not mean to say that Polycarp endorses the seven epistles. Does Polycarp endorse the epistle to the Magnesians? or the epistle to the Trallians? or the epistles to the Smyrnæans, and the Philadelphians? He endorses *three*; one to the Romans, one to the Ephesians, and one to himself, but no more; and there is no evidence in all his writings that he ever knew of another. It is therefore, extremely *unfair*, to say the least of it, in our author, having, with a single exception, made all his quotations from the epistles which Polycarp never once alludes to, to sustain them by Polycarp's testimony respecting only the *three*.

Ireneus is quoted by Mr. S., as saying,—“We can reckon up those whom the apostles ordained to be bishops in the several churches, and who they were that succeeded them, down to our time. And had the apostles known any hidden mysteries, which they imparted to none but the perfect, as the heretics pretend, they would have committed them to those men to whom they committed the churches themselves; for they desired to have those in all things perfect and unreprouable, whom they left to be their successors, and to whom they committed the apostolic authority.” “What proof,” says Mr. S., “can we desire more positive than this, that the *bishops*

were successors of the apostles, and invested with apostolic authority?"

Better proof, *we* say, could not be desired. Our author is quite right; but then that troublesome question comes up again,—“What does Ireneus mean by *bishops*? Does he mean an order of ministers distinct from presbyters, and above them? What kind of bishops did the apostles place in the churches? If we will allow them to testify for themselves, the question is easily settled. In their time it is confessed that the bishops were simple *presbyters*. Ireneus explains his own meaning in the section just preceding the one from which our author's extract is taken. The passage has been quoted once, but I will quote it again here. Speaking of certain heretics, he says,—“When we refer them to that apostolic tradition, which is preserved in the churches, through the succession of their PRESBYTERS, these men oppose the tradition; pretending that, being more wise than not only the PRESBYTERS, but the apostles themselves, they have found the uncorrupted truth.” The *bishops*, therefore, whom the apostles ordained over the churches, and whom they invested with their authority, were mere presbyters, according to the understanding of Ireneus himself.

“To the same effect,” Mr. S. continues to say, “speaks Tertullian, who clearly recognizes the three orders.” To the same effect also, is our reply. Tertullian certainly speaks of bishops who were placed over the churches by the apostles, or by apostolic men, (*i. e.* those evangelists who acted as assistants of the apostles,) and he speaks of a succession of these bishops, but does he tell us that they were a *distinct order* in the ministry? Not at all. He tells us plainly that they were *not* a distinct order in the ministry. He says,—De Bapt. c. 17,—“The highest *priest*, who is the *bishop*, has the right of granting baptism; afterward, the presbyter and deacons; not, however, without the authority of the bishop, for the honor of the church.” He is speaking here of the rules, or customs of

religious service in a single congregation. His expression, "the *highest* priest," implies the existence of inferiors of the same order; and comparing his language with other testimonies of that time, it is perfectly undeniable that the *bishop*, of whom he speaks, is only a presbyter raised to the office of president, or pastor.

"*Tertullian*," says Coleman, "represents the African division of the church, in which the episcopal government was earliest developed; but even in these churches, the apostolical order had not yet been fully superseded by the hierarchy. The sum of his testimony, as well as of that of all who had gone before him, (he flourished A. D. 200,) is, that there was but one order in the church superior to that of the deacons. The government of the church was, in his time, in a transition state. He stands, as has been justly observed, 'on the boundary between two different epochs in the development of the church.' Henceforth, the bishop assumes more prominence, but as yet he has not begun to be acknowledged as one of an order superior to the presbyters."

Tertullian, our author says, "recognizes the three orders." What is the *proof* that Tertullian recognizes the three orders? Simply this, that he speaks of *bishops*, *presbyters*, and *deacons*. If the mere use of these different names of office, proves that there were three orders of the ministry in the ancient church, then might it not be proved in the same way, that there are three orders of the ministry in the Presbyterian church now? for we also have *bishops*, *presbyters*, and *deacons*. In the English church, there are archbishops, bishops, presbyters, archdeacons, and deacons. Might it not, on the same principle, be argued that there are five orders of the ministry in that church? The reasoning would be false, for it is known that different titles of office are given to persons belonging to the same order. Precisely so, we affirm, that different titles of office are given by Tertullian and other ancient writers to persons belonging to the same ministerial order. Tertullian and others may speak

of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, but this proves nothing. We want specific evidence, which can not be furnished, that bishops and presbyters were distinct in the *grade* of their ministry. While no evidence is produced that they were so, we are able to produce it, in a perfect abundance, that they were not. What our author cites as proof, therefore, is no proof at all. His conclusion is the merest possible assumption.

His next witness is Cyprian, who flourished in Africa, about the middle of the third century. We do not deny that at this time, and especially in Africa, the original and apostolical order of church government, was, to a very considerable extent, displaced. Cyprian was himself the most violent advocate of episcopal authority in his time; and, more than any one else, is chargeable with the innovations which were then introduced. But he was not unresisted in his usurpations. The passage quoted by Mr. Schuyler, shows how he was opposed, and how the presbyters, even so late as the middle of the third century, and in *Africa*, contended for their rights. He complains that "the presbyters," "in disdain of the bishop's rule," "assumed to themselves unlimited power," and seems to be filled with indignation against them for their presumption. The passage which our author has cited, instead of making for his cause, is directly against it; inasmuch as it proves most conclusively that our representation of the state of things in Cyprian's time is *just*: that episcopacy, instead of being established, was only struggling for an establishment; that the bishops and presbyters were at strife,—the latter to preserve their ancient privileges, and the former to secure a monarchical ascendancy.

With all Cyprian's high claims for bishops, and arrogation of exclusive authority for them, it is a fact well attested that, in times of serious difficulty, he did often come down from his elevation, and condescend to admit them to a participation in the exercise of governmental powers. Under the pressure of a necessity, he could give up his unwarrantable pretensions, and

consent to act with presbyters, as one of them. The proof of this has been elsewhere afforded.

Our author concludes his notice of ancient authorities with an attempt to explain away the testimony of *Jerome*. He says, page 95 — “The passage on which they (Presbyterians) place the most stress, is simply an expression of *opinion* on the part of St. Jerome. It is not his testimony as to the *fact* whether, in his day, bishops were an order superior to the presbyters, but the expression of his belief that very early in the church it became necessary, to prevent schisms, to place *one*, chosen from among the presbyters, over the rest; that the whole care of the church should be committed to him.” To prove this, Mr. S. quotes a passage which, as he quotes it, is *not* the strong passage on which we chiefly rely. What says Jerome? Having stated the fact that originally presbyters and bishops were one and the same, he adds, “Should any one think that this is my *private opinion*, and not the doctrine of the scriptures, let him read the words of the apostle,” &c. Further on, he says — “Our intention in these remarks is to show, that, among the ancients, *presbyters and bishops* WERE THE VERY SAME; but that, *by little and little*, that the plants of dissensions might be plucked up, the whole concern was devolved upon an individual. As the presbyters, therefore, KNOW (a mere opinion, was it?) that they are subjected, BY THE CUSTOM OF THE CHURCH, to him that is set over them, so let the bishops know that they are greater than the presbyters MORE BY CUSTOM than by ANY REAL APPOINTMENT OF CHRIST.”

We admit that in Jerome's time, A. D. 377, bishops were superior to presbyters. The very passage which we quote proves it. It is to no purpose, therefore, that Mr. S. quotes other passages from this father, to establish that point. Jerome, testifying as to the primitive constitution of the church, and the historical fact of the original equality of bishops and presbyters, is one thing; and Jerome, testifying of the state of things in the church, *at his time*, is another. Jerome, testifying of the

superiority of bishops over presbyters, at the end of the fourth century, is a very different affair from Jerome testifying of the manner in which that superiority had been obtained, BY THE CUSTOM OF THE CHURCH, AND NOT BY ANY REAL APPOINTMENT OF CHRIST! We do not cite this father *as a witness of the form of church polity in his own day*, but as a witness of what *in his day was* KNOWN IN REGARD TO THE EARLY POLITY OF THE CHURCH, AND THE MANNER IN WHICH THE POLITY THEN EXISTING HAD BEEN INTRODUCED. He is the witness of what, in his day, were well understood historical facts.

Not one of the authorities which our author has furnished, helps his cause in the least. He has produced absolutely nothing which goes to show that, during the first two centuries, bishops were regarded as composing a distinct order in the ministry,—and no evidence of this has ever been furnished by any writer. The whole amount of the proof consists of the mere fact, that some of the writers of that age use the name “bishop,” and that they speak of “bishops, presbyters, and deacons,” without affording a hint, even, that there was any inequality of rank, as ministers, between the two first-named classes of persons. Of *prelacy* and *diocesanship* they find no signs, till they come down to a period in which we have never denied that the primitive and apostolical order of church government had begun to be crowded out by episcopal usurpations.

In reference to what we alledge and *prove* of the change which took place in the polity of the christian church after the close of the second century, Mr. S. observes, page 102,—“Surely the Presbyterian form of government must have been essentially defective, which could admit of an entire change in the organization of the church, in so short a time.” A little further on, he adds, “But the strangest of all, my brethren, is, that so great a change could have been made; a change affecting the essential constitution of the church, and within the short space of forty years, and not a record of this astonishing

revolution be found upon a single page of our ecclesiastical history."

What does he mean by "our ecclesiastical history?" Does he mean the ecclesiastical histories written by prelatists? We should hardly expect to find the record of which he speaks on their pages. There are ecclesiastical histories, however, in abundance, on whose pages the record may be found. Mosheim, beyond all comparison, until recently, the ablest and most learned historian of the church that ever wrote, traces that revolution with the utmost minuteness in all its successive steps. Gieseler does the same; and Neander, now the acknowledged prince in this department of literature, throws such a flood of light upon this subject, that whoever reads him must be blind to doubt. Where do Mosheim and Gieseler and Neander obtain their information? From the sources of all church history,—the New Testament and the authentic writings of each succeeding age. How do we know that such a revolution did actually occur? By comparing the form of church government, as it appears in the writings of the apostles and the fathers of the first two centuries, with the form of church government as it appears in the writings of the ages following. Could there be a more direct and reliable method of getting at the truth?

Says Dr. Mason, in his book on Episcopacy, page 220,—
"The United States are a republic, with a single executive, periodically chosen. Suppose that three hundred years hence, they should be under the reign of a hereditary monarch, and the question should then be started whether this was the original order or not? Those who favor the negative, go back to the written constitution, framed in 1787, and show that a hereditary monarchy was never contemplated in that instrument. Others contend that, "The expressions of the constitution are indefinite; there are some things, indeed, which look a little republican-like, and might be accommodated to the infant state of the nation; but whoever shall consider the *purposes* of the

order therein prescribed, and the nature of the *powers* therein granted, will clearly perceive that the one can not be attained, nor the other exercised, but in a hereditary monarchy." Well, the constitution is produced; it is examined again and again, but no hereditary monarchy is recognized there; it breathes republicanism throughout. What, now, would be thought of a man who should gravely answer,—“The concurrent testimony of all the historians of those times is, that at, or very shortly after the death of the members of the convention of 1787, monarchy prevailed throughout the United States; and this is proof positive that it was established by the convention?”

“Nay,” the first would rejoin, “your facts are of no avail. The question is not, what prevailed *after* the constitution was adopted, but what is the constitution itself? There it is; let it argue its own cause.”

“But,” says the other, “how could so great a change, as that from a republic to a monarchy, happen in so short a time? and without resistance; or, what is still more astonishing, without notice?”

“You may settle that,” retorts the first, “at your leisure. That there has been a material change, I see as clearly as the light; *how* that change was effected is none of my concern. It is enough for me that the constitution, fairly interpreted, knows nothing of the existing monarchy.”

“Every child can perceive who would have the best of the argument, and it is just such an argument that we are managing with the Episcopalians.”

Again. Dr. Mason says, page 240 — “Nothing can be more pointless and pithless than the declamation * * * on the *change* which took place in the original order of the church. They assume a *false fact*, to wit, that the change must have happened, if it happened at all, *instantaneously*: and then they expatiate with great vehemence on the *impossibility* of such an event. This is mere noise. The change was not

instantaneous, nor sudden. The testimony of Jerome, which declares that it was *gradual*, has sprung a *mine* under the very foundation of their edifice, and blown it into the air. Were we inclined to take up more of the reader's time on this topic, we might turn their own weapon, such as it is, against themselves. They do not pretend that archbishops, patriarchs, and primates are of apostolical institution. They will not so insult the understandings and the senses of men, as to maintain that these officers have no more power than simple bishops. Where, then, were all the principles of adherence to apostolic order, when these creatures of human policy made their entrance into the church? Among whom were the daring innovators to be found? Where was the learning of the age? Where its spirit of piety, and its zeal of martyrdom? Where were the presbyters? Where the bishops? What! all, all turned traitors *at once*? All, all conspire to abridge their own rights, and submit their necks to the new-made superiors? What! *none* to reclaim or remonstrate? Absurd! Incredible! Impossible! These questions, and a thousand like them, might be asked by an advocate for the divine right of *patriarchs*, with as much propriety and force as they are asked by the advocates of the simpler episcopacy. And so, by vociferating on *abstract principles*, the evidence of men's eyes and ears is to be overturned, and they are to believe that there are not now, and never have been such things as archbishops, patriarchs, or primates, in the christianized world; seeing that by the *assumption* of the argument, they have no divine original; and by its *terms* they could not have been introduced by mere human contrivance.

"To return to Jerome. The prelatists being unable to evade his testimony concerning the change which was effected in the original order of the church, would persuade us that he means a change brought about *by the authority of the apostles themselves*." (See Mr. Schuyler, pp. 96, 97.) "But the subterfuge is unavailing.

“(1.) It alledges a *conjectural tradition* against the authority of the *written scriptures*, for no trace of a change can be seen there.

“(2.) It overthrows completely all the proof drawn for the hierarchy from the apostolic records. For if this change was introduced by the apostles *after* their canonical writings were closed, then it is vain to seek for it in their writings. The consequence is, that the hierarchists must either retreat from the New Testament, or abandon Jerome.

“(3.) It makes this intelligent father a downright fool — to plead apostolic authority for the original equality of ministers; and, in the same breath, to produce that same authority for the inequality which he was resisting!

“(4.) To crown the whole, it tells us that the apostles having fixed, under the influence of divine inspiration, an order for the church, found, upon a few years trial, that it would *not do*, and were obliged to mend it; only they forgot to apprise the churches of the alteration; and so left the exploded order *in* the rule of faith, and the new order *out* of it; depositing the commission of the prelates with that kind foster-mother of the hierarchy, *tradition!*”

Mr. Schuyler speaks of this change as taking place “in the short space of *forty years*.” This is to make it appear the more incredible. The truth is, that we discover no traces of the change until after the first two hundred years, a century at least after the death of the last apostle; and during the whole of the next century we do not find the change “perfected.” The entire period of the third and *fourth* centuries even, may be described as a period of conflict between the primitive and the prelate forms of church polity, in which the latter gained more and more the ascendancy. It was a very *long* time, before the church fully succumbed under episcopal usurpation. Many presbyters, like Cyprian’s in Carthage, continued to struggle for their ancient rights; and many an honest voice like St. Jerome’s was raised, for many a year, in defense of the

ancient order; but the power of the bishops, sustained by their influence over the uneducated masses, and at length by civil rulers, finally prevailed, and the hierarchy stretched its arms over the christian world, coercing every thing into a tame submission to its will. Then, as the crowning scene of the same revolution, appeared the papacy; and then, denser and darker, and more intolerable, grew that dreadful night, already begun, which for twelve hundred years hung over the church and the world.

As to the idea that "the Presbyterian form of church government must have been essentially defective, to admit of an entire change in so short a space of time," it is to be remarked, that our author assumes for us a claim which we do not make. We do not affirm that the primitive and apostolical order of the church was *Presbyterian*, in the present denominational sense of that term, as he seems inclined to intimate, but simply that it was *presbyterial*, *i. e.* established, so far as the *ministry* was concerned, upon the great principle of *parity*. For what is properly the presbyterian form of church government, we simply maintain, that while in some respects it exists now under modifications, adapted, as we think wisely, to the present state of the church and of the world, it holds incorporated in itself all the great and essential features of the apostolical institution.

If, in the wisdom of the men of the third and fourth centuries, the presbyterial order was judged to be defective, in not presenting sufficient barriers against the inroads of heresy and schism, it needs only to be remembered how sad a remedy that proved to be, which their wisdom, setting itself above the wisdom of God, devised. Whether the remedy proved not worse than the disease, let the long ages of darkness, and of hierarchical despotism, and depravity that ensued, bear witness.

Whether I have succeeded in establishing my point, *the right of presbyters, according to the original constitution of the church, to ordain*, I am willing to submit to the candid and intelligent reader.

I shall conclude this part of my subject with remarking, that until very recently, the divine right of episcopacy was a pretension almost unheard of among Protestant Episcopalians. The view which we have given of its origin, was the view almost universally entertained in England, by intelligent men at the time of the reformation, and has been from that day down to the present time, until the comparatively recent revival of the Romish spirit in the English church. All the prominent English reformers agreed with Cranmer, in his opinion formally expressed in writing, that "the bishops and priests were at one time *one*, and were no two things, but both *one office* in the beginning of Christ's religion." Later, when Charles First consulted with Lords Jermyn and Culpepper, and Mr. Ashburnham, all three Episcopalians, on the subject of the proposed act of parliament for abolishing episcopacy, and signified that he had conscientious scruples against giving it his assent, they replied, "If by *conscience*, your meaning is that you are obliged to do all in your power to support and maintain the functions of the bishops, as that which is the most ancient, reverend, and pious government of the church, we fully and heartily concur with you therein. But if by *conscience*, it is intended to assert that episcopacy, is *jure divino* exclusive, whereby no protestant (or rather christian) church can be acknowledged for such without a bishop, we must therein crave leave *wholly to differ*. And if we be not in error, *we are in good company; there not being* (as we have cause to believe) *six persons of the protestant religion of the other opinion*. Thus much we can add, that, at the treaty of Uxbridge, none of your divines then present, though much provoked thereunto, would maintain that (we might say *uncharitable*) opinion; no, not privately among your commissioners."

Bishop White, whom all good men revered, in a pamphlet entitled "The Case of the Episcopal Church in the United States, Considered," has the following language, which I quote in this connection, on the authority of Rev. Wm. C. Wisner:

“ Now, if even those who hold episcopacy to be of divine right, conceive the obligation to it not to be binding, when that idea would be destructive of public worship, much more must they think so, who indeed venerate and prefer that form as the most ancient and eligible, *but without any idea of divine right in the case.* This, the author believes to be the sentiment of the *great body* of Episcopalians in America; in which respect they have in their favor, *unquestionably*, the sense of the church of England, and, as he believes, the opinions of her *most distinguished prelates for piety and abilities.*”

The recent changes of sentiment among Episcopalians, and especially among the Episcopal *clergy* in this country and in England, are ominous. The tendency toward Rome, evinced, not only by the growing popularity of Romish opinions, but by the matured result of innumerable perversions to the Romish faith, becoming every year more frequent, is well calculated to awaken the most alarming apprehensions. Romanists are in raptures, and begin to congratulate themselves that the day is now near at hand, when the Episcopal section of Protestantism at least, shall be brought back to the bosom of their church. Very recently, the Roman Catholic bishop of Buffalo, passing by the new and elegant church edifice now in process of erection for the parish of St. Paul's, in this city, is reported to have said to a gentleman who was with him,—“That is well. They are building churches for us. We shall have them all in a few years.” I do not believe that the bishop's expectations will be fully realized. God forbid that they should be. Yet if this calamity is to be avoided, there must be a speedy arrest of the reflux tide of opinions and sympathies in the Episcopal church. Let come a few more years, with the unchecked growth of such influences as have prevailed for twenty years past, and the work will be done. The bishop's prediction will come to pass, and Rome will have the churches. It is notorious, that sentiments are boldly avowed, and usages practised, by vast numbers of the Episcopal clergy, without exciting any more than a

passing remark, which, a few years ago, would have been met with indignant frowns, and the severest ecclesiastical censure. It is perfectly amazing to see with what celerity and force the Oxford leaven has diffused itself. It is one of the most significant tokens of these times, and we wait with the profoundest interest to know what the result shall be.

THE APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.

In all essential respects, the question concerning the apostolical succession has been disposed of already. If it has been made evident, that the apostles, as such, were not to be succeeded, that their office was personal and temporary, in its very nature, and by design of Christ, then the *fact* of a succession must fall, of course, with the doctrine.

Says our author, page 113,—“We think we have established, in our preceding discourses, upon the authority of scripture and the ancient fathers, that there were three orders of ministers in the church, distinguished by a gradation of rights and powers; that these were known immediately after the apostolic age, by their respective names of bishops, priests or presbyters, and deacons; and that the *bishops alone* succeeded to the apostolic office, being alone empowered, as were Timothy and Titus, to perpetuate the ministry and to govern the church. It follows, therefore, that all who claim to act as the ministers of Jesus Christ in his church, either as bishops, presbyters, or deacons, must have a verifiable commission from those who were empowered to bestow it; that is, *must be episcopally ordained*.

The error of this statement, so far as relates to the point in hand, lies in the assumption of what never has been, and never can be proved, but has been disproved a thousand times: *that bishops are a distinct order in the ministry of the christian church, and that they have succeeded to the apostolic office*.

A false doctrine is assumed, and an inference of falsehood is derived from it.

Having stated his doctrine as above, our author goes on to say :

“There is no escaping from such a requisition,” (*i. e.* of prelatical ordination,) “unless we deny the divine authority of the ministry altogether, and assume the position that Christ left the church without any authorized rulers, to be moulded and governed by the caprice of men.”

We can not see that such a consequence would be the result. It seems to us, and we think it will seem to any one who is capable of looking at more than one side of this subject, that all the conditions of a divine right in the christian ministry, are as well secured by our doctrine of a presbyterial succession from the apostles, regarding them as the first presbyters, as by the doctrine of our opponents.

Does it follow, from our denying that the apostles ordained *other apostles*, that we must also deny that they ordained *other ministers*? And if they ordained other ministers to take their places, in the ordinary and permanent ministry of the church, with authority to ordain others in perpetual succession, did they not then provide an apostolical ministry for all ages, just as really, and a thousand times more effectually and certainly, than they would have done on the different supposition of prelatists? The alternative, which we are told is alone left to us, if we reject the episcopal theory, is a mere fancy of our author, betraying how little study or thought he has ever bestowed upon this subject. When, on a former occasion, puzzled with the ordination of Timothy by the presbytery, he deemed it important to recognize the fact, that the apostles were also presbyters, then that fact appeared to be one of the mere common-places of his varied understanding; but now, with the turning up of another difficulty, the circumstances are changed, and it seems to have entirely passed from his recollection. Now, the apostles were apostles merely, and if they did not

perpetuate their apostleship they did not perpetuate any thing; so that the succession of the ministry which Christ appointed for his church, terminated with them, and the church was left without any authorized rulers, to be moulded and governed by the caprice of men!"

Under the hallucination of this capital mistake, our author has constructed his entire argument, if argument it may be called, on this subject.

If by "the apostolical succession," is meant a succession of *the christian ministry* from the apostles, or from those first ministers of our Lord who were *also* apostles, we believe in it with our whole heart. If, however, a succession of *apostles* is meant, we laugh at it as most absurd and impossible, and can only wonder at the infatuation of those who do not join with us in our merriment.

No argument for an uninterrupted presbyterial succession, or what is equivalent to it, from the apostles, that is, from the men who were the *first presbyters*, and who received their presbyterial authority in the church from Christ himself, can be required of us. It might be necessary, if we were arguing with infidels, but can not be in an argument with Episcopalians; for, on only the same principles which they employ in demonstrating the fact of their succession, ours is a thousand fold more demonstrable than theirs. We recognize principles, however applicable to this subject, growing out of our different views of the nature of ordination, by which the difficulties that must forever embarrass any succession, as a fact to be historically proved, extending through so long a period of time, are all fully relieved. Believing, as *they* do, in the actual, and not the symbolic impartation of grace by ordination; believing, that the bishop's hands do really communicate it, and that this grace, as a substantial holy *ichor*, first imparted by Christ to his apostles, has flowed down from them through a series of manual impositions, in such a sense, that from one break in the channel it would be irrecoverably lost, unless restored by a miracle;

believing so, their succession is certainly one of the most astonishing chimeras that the human mind ever conceived of as a reality. I do not wonder that every argumentation on its behalf should end as these argumentations invariably do, with an appeal from the reader's power of understanding to his power of believing, and that we should be required, on the assumption of the *doctrine*, to credit the *fact* as a prodigy referable to the almighty power and faithfulness of God.

That I do not mis-state or over-state the Episcopal doctrine on this subject, the reader may be satisfied by a few extracts from their approved authors.

Bishop Beveridge says,—see his works, vol. 2, Serm. on Christ's presence with his ministry,—“The apostolical line hath, through all ages, been preserved entire, there having been a constant succession of such bishops in it, as were truly and properly successors to the apostles, BY VIRTUE of the *imposition of hands*, which being begun by the apostles, hath been continued from one to another, ever since their time down to ours. BY WHICH MEANS, *the same spirit which was breathed by our Lord into his apostles, is, together with their office transmitted to their lawful successors, the pastors and governors of our church at this time; and ACTS, MOVES, and ASSISTS, at the administration of the apostolic office, IN OUR DAYS, AS MUCH AS EVER.*”

The mysterious sacramental virtue of ordination, as a *means of communicating grace*, and the miraculous presence of the Holy Ghost with the bishops of the Episcopal church now, as really as with the apostles of old, are here stated in terms too plain to be misunderstood. One can not forbear expressing a regret, that so little practical evidence has ever been afforded of the justice of these pretensions.

Says *Dr. Chandler*,—See “Appeal on Behalf of the Church of England in America,”—“If the succession be ONCE lost, not all the men on earth, not all the angels in heaven, without an immediate commission from Christ, can restore it.”

The same view is impliedly expressed by *Chapin*, as quoted in appendix D, page 209, of Mr. Schuyler's book.

By the Episcopal doctrine of apostolical succession, the whole grace of God to men is deposited with the bishops, so that if the line of bishops should fail, the church would be destroyed, and the entire work of human salvation would cease. See *Chapin*, as referred to above. They constitute the sole channel through which the divine mercy flows to the successive generations of earth; and that, not as mere agents, by whom the *word* of life is dispensed, for this would put them on a level with ordinary ministers; but the very *life* is with them. They are dispensers, not especially of the message of grace, but of grace itself. Christ lives in the church in their persons, and acts solely with, and through them, and with and through those to whom they impart the heavenly gift.

Bishop B. T. Onderdonk, himself a striking commentary on the doctrine, says,—see his “Address on Unity,”—“None but the bishops can unite us to the Father, in the way of Christ's appointment; and these bishops must be such as receive their commissions from the first commissioned apostles. Wherever such bishops are found dispensing the faith and sacraments of Christ, *there is a true church*; unsound, it may be, like the church of Rome, but still, *a real and true church*; as a sick or diseased man, though unsound, is still a real and true man.”

Dr. Hook, author of “The Three Reformations,” is quoted by Smyth, in his “Lectures on the Apostolical Succession,” page 105, as saying,—“Unless Christ be spiritually present with the ministers of religion in their services, those services will be vain. But *the only ministrations to which he has promised his presence, are those of BISHOPS, who are successors to the first commissioned apostles, and to the other clergy acting under their sanction, and by THEIR authority.*”

Dr. Dodwell is quoted in the same place, by Smyth, from the “New York Churchman,” as using this language,—“None but the BISHOPS can unite us to the Father and the Son.

Whence it will follow, *that whoever is disunited from the visible communion of the church on earth, and PARTICULARLY from the visible communion of the BISHOPS*, must consequently be disunited from the whole visible catholic church on earth, and not only so, but from the invisible communion of the holy angels and saints in heaven, and, what is yet more, from *Christ and God himself*. It is one of the most dreadful aggravations of the condition of the damned, that they are banished from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power. The SAME is their condition, also, who are *disunited from Christ BY being disunited from his visible representative*."

These are but specimens, selected pretty much at random, from a great variety of similar representations, that I have before me. They serve sufficiently to exhibit the doctrine.

Can any man have doubts respecting the *origin* of this doctrine of apostolical succession? Who does not instantly recognize it as a part of that system of cunningly devised priest-craft and imposture, by which the hierarchy has ever sought to enslave the human mind, and to establish the iron yoke of its despotism on the necks of all people? I do not charge our Episcopal brethren with any such designs; but I do charge them with seeking, conscientiously it may be, to perpetuate a doctrine begun in fraud, and used in all ages since, for the most oppressive and man-debasing purposes. Whence did the church of Rome derive her monstrous power to tyrannize over the world, and to hold men's very souls in subjection to her will, but from this same dogma of the apostolical succession? The BISHOPS ALONE can unite us to the Father! To be disunited FROM THE BISHOPS, is to be disunited from God and Christ, and THIS IS TO BE DAMNED! The way to God is by Christ, and the way to Christ is by the BISHOPS, or by the other clergy acting under THEIR sanction, and by THEIR authority! It is not by believing and obeying the truth, as it is revealed in the glorious gospel of the blessed God, that we are to escape THE MOST DREADFUL AGGRAVATIONS OF THE CONDITION

OF THE DAMNED; but it is by submitting to the BISHOP, or to his authorized representative, the PRIEST! This is the doctrine. God approaches us only through these agents. The divine fountain of life is utterly and forever inaccessible to us. The bishops and their subordinate ministers, the priests, must convey to us those living waters, or we can never drink them! They are the medium of all gracious communication with us poor sinners; the sole conduits through which the streams of salvation must flow to us, or never flow to us at all! The bishops, in long lines of unbroken succession, each line beginning at Christ, and receiving from him the true vital element, convey it down from hand to hand by an endless series of mystical manipulations, and we, to receive it, must go to them, or go without for ever! They, at the farther extremities of their several lines, lay hold on God; upon whom, if we would lay hold also, we must lay hold on them! Where are we then? Good Lord deliver us! We are in the power of the bishops, sure enough, and there is nothing left for us but to bow or burn. Voluntary separation from the bishops is voluntary exclusion from all good! The bishop's anathema is the curse of God! The bishop's sentence of excommunication damns the soul!

The Episcopal doctrine of the apostolical succession amounts to this, and there is no help for it. It is the very kernel of the whole system of popish abominations. Can it be that such a doctrine is maintained in this enlightened and free country, in the nineteenth century, and by *Protestants*? Must it be argued against, to prevent it from spreading among men who have bibles? I can not think that, of the Episcopal laity, one in a hundred really believes it. Why do they bear with such folly? Why do they lend their influence, even indirectly, to the support of that, which, folly though it be, and now little else than a harmless theory of their clergy, may one day become a most powerful engine of spiritual oppression, under which their descendants, if not themselves, shall groan in a miserable and

hopeless bondage? Such wretched, yet dangerous nonsense ought to meet with strenuous rebukers among Episcopalians themselves. Intelligent laymen should let their bishops and rectors know, that it is altogether too late for priests even to *assert* such pretensions, and that they will not be tolerated. I wonder at their forbearance.

THE WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH.

Mr. Schuyler's fifth lecture is devoted to a discussion of "the authority and expediency of forms of prayer for public worship." He regards the subject as one of great importance, and thinks that Episcopalians ought "to settle the question, whether the church has any scriptural basis on which to build her time-honored usage in this respect." I heartily concur with him in this view.

I said in the appendix to my sermon, page fifty,—“There is not a word of authority in the scriptures for the use of pre-composed forms of prayer. There is not the shadow of an evidence that the church, in the days of the apostles, used forms of prayer, or that a question was ever raised in regard to the propriety of using them.” Our author calls this a “bold assertion,” and manfully declares that he enters upon this discussion with “full knowledge of my having made it. I may be permitted to say, that if the assertion was *bold*, it was at least well considered. Of this I hope to be able to satisfy my readers. Passing by some rhetorical flourishes with which his lecture opens, we shall proceed at once to an examination of its more serious matter.

He commences with quoting what he regards as *authoritative examples from the Old Testament*, in favor of liturgies. It should be remarked here, that my assertion was made with simple reference to the *christian church*, and that nothing more was intended than that there is no scriptural authority for the

use of precomposed forms of prayer *now*. I do not see, therefore, what would be gained by him, should he prove in the clearest manner, that forms were prescribed for the Jewish worshipers. The Old Testament scriptures we truly regard as of divine authority, equally binding upon christians, so far as they inculcate truth and moral duty, with any other part of the sacred canon; but no one will pretend that the ordinances which were given to the Jews for the regulation of their public worship, impose the least degree of obligation upon us, or are to be regarded, in any sense, even as examples for our imitation. Still, I am not unwilling to allow to Mr. S. all the advantage which he can derive from this species of argument. He has utterly failed to prove, that the ancient Jewish church used a liturgy; and if he had no other evidences than those which he has adduced, I can not but feel amazed that he should have ventured to make the attempt.

The reader is requested to bear in mind, what is the real point in debate between us: *whether there is, or is not, scriptural authority for the use of liturgies, precomposed forms of prayer, in the public worship of God in the church.*

For his first proof of the affirmative, our author reminds us that "Moses composed a sublime song of thanksgiving, which was sung responsively in praising God, when the Israelites celebrated their deliverance from Egyptian bondage." This is to show that the Jewish church worshiped God by a liturgy! Does our author not know that we Presbyterians have sublime songs precomposed, and printed in books too, which we habitually sing in our churches to the praise of God? Is our worship, therefore, *liturgical*? *Songs*, which are to be *sung* by the united voices of a congregation, must of necessity be precomposed; but the case is very different of *prayers*, which are to be offered up by a single voice, and joined in *mentally* and *spiritually* by other worshipers.

We are told next, that "as the Israelites journeyed, whenever the ark *moved forward or rested*, there was a *special prayer*

to be said." Now, the simple fact is, that we are informed in the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh verses of the tenth chapter of Numbers, what the prayer was, which, in one instance, Moses offered at the setting forward of the ark, and again, at the resting of it. Does any one know that these same prayers, without variation, were said on every similar occasion? And if they were, what then? Does it follow that the Jews, in their public church service, used a *liturgy*? We shall be very far from admitting that the *Jewish worship* was *liturgical*, simply because on certain great and extraordinary occasions, a form of words was used.

Again, we are told that "*after a form*, the priests of Israel were required to bless the people." This was undoubtedly so, but what does it prove? Have we ever questioned the propriety of a form of words in pronouncing a benediction? Is it not our own invariable practice to use a form? We use, it is true, not always the same form. After apostolical precedent we allow ourselves liberty in this respect, yet a *form* we always employ. What then? Are we also liturgists?

Our author cites the foregoing authorities hastily, as though he himself did not think much of them. Who can wonder? "But in the book of Psalms," he continues with evidently-rising courage, "we have an inspired *prayer-book*, and one which was composed expressly for public worship." Dear Mr. Schuyler! was the book of Psalms used in the public worship of the Jews, as a *prayer-book*, or as a *psalm-book*? Think *hard* now, and give us your deliberate opinion. Were the sublime effusions contained in this book *said* as prayers, or were they *sung* as songs? What would you say, if you were testifying according to the best of your knowledge and belief, in a court of justice? I can not but remind my friend again, that the course of his argument is making liturgists of us Presbyterians also: for these same psalms, expressed in English verse, not near so literally as we could desire, we also sing every sabbath day in our churches. Mr. S. says — "Hezekiah enjoined the use of

these very forms in the service of the temple," and adds, — "We are told, 2 Chron. xxix: 30 — 'Hezekiah the king, and the princes, commanded the Levites to sing praises unto the Lord, *with the words of David and of Asaph the seer*; and they sang praises with gladness, and bowed their heads and worshiped. So the service of the house of the Lord was set in order."

What more proper thing, we reply, could they do? If *singing* was to be a part of the temple service, where could they have found words more appropriate for that purpose, than "the words of David and of Asaph the seer?" Where could they have found sublimer poetry, or purer, and more devout, and soul-inspiring sentiment? The people of God in all branches of the church, still regard the psalms as pre-eminently suited for the purpose of devotion; and still God is praised, as nearly as can be in other tongues, all the world over, "in the words of David and of Asaph the seer." "Upon the erection of the second temple," our author goes on to say, "a similar service was prescribed." That is to say, the Jews still continued, by direction, *to sing the psalms*. Wonderful, indeed! But what has all this to do with the question under discussion, in regard to *precomposed forms of prayer*? We want proof that the temple service of the Jews was liturgical, and our author gravely informs us that they had an *authorized psalm-book*!

The psalms were metrical compositions, set to musical notes, to be sung, with an instrumental accompaniment, by the people. We know that many of these psalms are really prayers, but this does not effect the question of the purpose for which they were composed, or of the manner in which they were actually employed. They were written to be sung, because that which is to be sung by a concert of voices, must, of necessity be written; and they *were sung* by the congregation, not said, as prayers, by the conductor of public worship.

The last authority from the Old Testament, with which our author has favored us, is taken from Hosea xiv: 2,—“Take

with you *words*, and turn unto the Lord. *Say* unto him, Take away all our iniquity, and receive us graciously," &c. This, Mr. S. calls "an express command to the people to come with *words prepared* when they would address the Most High." We are forcibly reminded here of the Shaking Quaker's proof text for *dancing* in public worship, and for his peculiar manner of performing that rite. What does the reader imagine it to be?—" *Turn ye, turn ye, for why will ye die?*"—We think our author not one whit behind the Shaker in his shrewd insight into scripture meanings. To whose mind but an Episcopalian's searching for liturgical precedents, would this text ever have suggested the idea that he seems to have gathered from it? Who denies that prayer is to be offered to God in *words*? Who denies that when we are about to draw near to God in prayer, we ought to premeditate what we design to say, and to come with "words prepared?" The very nature of prayer implies the necessity of this. To pray, is to ask God for things that we need, and that we desire to receive. How can we pray until we have first ascertained our wants, and formed in our minds the petitions that we desire to make? Now what was the real purport of the prophet's exhortation? Urging the rebellious people of Israel to return penitently to God, whom their sins had offended and provoked, he directs them to return with *prayer*, and very properly suggests to them various petitions and confessions, suitable in such a case as theirs to be made. This is the whole of it; and yet our ingenious author finds in this text the syllabus of a complete discourse on the subject of liturgies. What was designed as a simple advice, or direction to the Israelites in their then existing circumstances, is made by him a general positive precept on the subject of prayer, and we are told to regard it as "an express command to the people to come with *words prepared*, when (*i. e. whenever*) they would address the Most High." "Take with you *words*."—By "words," he can understand nothing short of "*words prepared*," that is, according to his own understanding of the

matter, *written down*. “*Say unto him,*” &c.—This means, *read from a book*. Oh, excellent! Thus we live and learn.

We have now seen the whole of our author’s argument from the Old Testament. He undertakes to prove from this source, that the ancient Jews, in their public and ordinary worship of God, prayed by prescribed forms, that is, that they had and used a liturgy—a fact by the way, which if it were ever so well established, would have no bearing on the real question in debate,—and what are his proofs? What does he show us to relieve our doubts on this point? Why, that Moses composed a *song* to the praise of God, which, on stated occasions, the people *sang*; that he offered a prayer once when the ark moved, and another when it rested, the words of both which prayers are preserved; that the priests had a *form of benediction* which they were required to pronounce upon the people; that in the temple service, the *singing* was directed to be performed “in the words of David and of Asaph, the seer;” and that the prophet Hosea, on one occasion, exhorting the people to repentance, suggested to them the substance of a prayer and confession which would be suitable for them to offer!

Now, I ask, if our author does not seem to have been sadly pressed for the materials of a demonstration? If this was *all* that he could find, he must have felt that there was something very like a scarcity in the land. Let no one blame him, however, except for his attempt. He has done his best, and no one could do more.

So far, at least, as the Old Testament is concerned, my “bold assertion” may be repeated. There is not the shadow of an evidence there, that among the ancient Jews, a liturgy was ever known or heard of.

The best example of a public prayer, offered in the presence of the congregation of Israel, and the one which, of all others, should be quoted, as furnishing testimony on the point now before us, is the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple, which we have at large in the eighth chapter of first

Kings. Why did Mr. Schuyler fail to notice this prayer? For the reason, undoubtedly, that he could make nothing of it, but confusion to his cause. He *knows* that it was not read from a book, nor *read* at all, but uttered as it was conceived in the heart of that pious king. If any one is not satisfied on this head, it is sufficient barely to notice the account that we have of it in the place where the prayer is found:—"And Solomon stood before the altar of the Lord, in the presence of all the congregation of Israel, and *spread forth his hands toward heaven*: and he said, Lord God of Israel, there is no God like thee," &c., &c. Again, at the end, we read,—“And it was so, that when Solomon had made an end of praying all this prayer and supplication unto the Lord, he arose from before the altar of the Lord, from kneeling on his knees, *with his hands spread up to heaven*.” The mere attitude of the king in this service, “with his hands spread up to heaven,” shows in the clearest manner that he was not *reading from a book*, but simply pouring out the free desires of his own soul to God. If our author, in the agony of his fruitless search after liturgical precedents in the Old Testament, had not known that this was so, or if he could have furnished any plausible pretext for a different construction of the record, would he have passed by this prayer of Solomon with such profound silence? Who will believe it?

“It will not be denied,” so he proceeds, passing on now to another field of evidence, “that in the time of our Saviour the Jews used forms of prayer in their synagogues.” Then follows a quotation from Hooker, which, it is presumed, if any one were *disposed to deny it*, would effectually deter him. He might have quoted Lightfoot, Hall, Prideaux, and Usher, with even better effect; but as he seems fully to believe that his proposition will not be denied, he doubtless thought that the name of Hooker would be sufficient. Great men, and even bishops, however, have sometimes been mistaken; and he must not be surprised, if after all, some one should be found to deny “that

in the time of our Saviour the Jews used forms of prayer in their synagogues." Still, for the present, let it be admitted. We know that there were, in our Saviour's time, many observances and practices among the Jews, founded solely upon the traditions of the elders, whereby the commandments of God were made of none effect. Our Saviour distinctly told them so. Now it devolves upon our opponents in this discussion, to show that these liturgies were introduced by divine authority, and that they were not the corrupt devices of men. We have followed our author in his search through the Old Testament scriptures for *prescription* and *precedent*, and he finds neither one, nor the other. No trace of a *divine warrant* for precomposed forms of prayer, or of *usage* to justify the presumption that such a warrant was ever afforded, is any where discoverable. If then, it can be proved, that liturgies were in use among the Jews in our Saviour's time, we say again,—and we hope our author will bear it in mind, if ever he sees fit to recur to this subject,—that it devolves upon him to show that they were not part and parcel of the corruptions, which it is well known had for two or three centuries been creeping into the Jewish church. Admitting the existence of these pretended liturgies in the time of Christ, what then? Our author says, page 162,—“We are told by the evangelists, that our Saviour was in the habit of attending upon the worship of the synagogue. We can not believe that he sat there as an idle spectator, while the true Israel were thus worshiping the God of their fathers. Nor can we believe that he would have sanctioned by his presence, a mode of worship, *in itself*, unfitting the service of the sanctuary, or unauthorized by divine prescription. Here then, in the fact that he attended the synagogue, that he went there himself as a worshiper, and that he united in the service, we have the highest of all sanctions, even that of his own blessed example, to *prescribed forms* for public worship.”

This is certainly a very *pious* view of the subject, but it is nevertheless a very poor specimen of reasoning. Has not Mr. Schuyler himself, sometimes attended public worship in a Presbyterian *meeting-house*? Very likely he has not done so since his conversion to Episcopacy, but possibly he has. At least I may *suppose* a case. If he *should* do such a thing, does he imagine that by engaging reverently in the services, he would be fairly chargeable with sanctioning the use, in public worship, of extempore prayers? Were I to attend his church, and, as devoutly as possible, follow him in the prayers which should be read, could he infer from my so doing, that I approve of liturgies?

But to the case before us. Does our author not believe that there were many things both in the manner and matter of the synagogue worship, in the time of our Saviour, which were really offensive to him, or which, at least, he would have wished to be different? How, then, does his attendance on that worship, and his participation in it, prove that he sanctioned the use of written forms of prayer? Our author must remember, that we do not charge upon a liturgical service, that it is positively sinful, but only that it is *not of divine appointment*, and that it is *inexpedient*. Of course, the Saviour would not have engaged with the Jewish worshipers in the practice of *sin*; but might he not have tolerated some things which he did not wholly approve? Is it not *certain*, from his attendance on the Jewish worship, which, whatever may be said of the prayers, every one knows to have been infected with many novelties, through their traditions, that he actually did so?

But, now for the main question. Was the worship of the Jews, in our Lord's time, liturgical? Mr. Schuyler, after quoting from Hooker, to show that liturgies were then in use, says, page 161,—"Many of these liturgies are still extant, and we may have access to them in the very forms then in use." Will he pretend to say that this is a *settled, absolute fact*? I must remind him that many ancient

documents which are now on all hands admitted to be spurious, have been vouched for as authentic, by men as learned and every way worthy of confidence as "the learned and pious Hooker" himself, (whose learning and piety I do not at all question,) or any others that have sought to verify these pretended Jewish liturgies. Who has not heard of liturgies in the church, composed by St. Peter, and St. James, and St. Mark? and that there are now extant, canons and constitutions asserted to have been drawn up by the whole college of the apostles? Even these have not wanted learned and pious defenders; but what scholar now regards them as genuine, or does not smile at the credulity that ever trusted them for a moment? Nothing could be more uncertain than the kind of evidence on which the credit of these ancient liturgies depends. If Mr. S. is satisfied with it, I am not. The sole authority for them is the *Mishna*. And what is this? Bishop Horne says — vol. ii, pages 295–296 — "The *Mishna* is a collection of various traditions of the Jews, and of expositions of scripture texts; which, *they pretend*, were delivered to Moses during his abode on the mount, and transmitted from him, through Aaron, Eleazar, and Joshua, to the prophets, and by those to the men of the great Sanhedrim, from whom they passed in succession to Simeon, (who took our Saviour in his arms,) Gamaliel, and ultimately to Rabbi Jehudah, surnamed Hakkadosh the Holy. By him this digest of oral law and traditions was completed, toward the close of the second century, after the labor of forty years." Prideaux — vol. ii, page ninety-three, and onward — gives a detailed account of this book, according to representations of the Jewish Rabbis: "*They tell us*," he says, page ninety-five, "that at the same time when God gave unto Moses the law on Mount Sinai, he gave unto him, also, the interpretation of it, commanding him to commit the former to writing, but to deliver the other only by word of mouth, to be preserved in the memories of men, and to be transmitted down by them, from generation to generation, by tradition only; and

from hence, the former is called the written, and the other the oral law." He then proceeds to describe the Jewish account of the manner in which this oral law was preserved, and the succession of men through whose memories it was perpetuated. Moses gave it to Joshua, and he to the elders, and they to the prophets "till" — pages ninety-seven and ninety-eight — "it came to Jeremiah, who delivered it to Baruch, and Baruch to Ezra, by whom it was delivered to the men of the great synagogue, the last of whom was Simon the Just. Finally, it came into the hands of Rabbah Judah Hakkadosh, who wrote it into the book which they call the Mishna. But all this," adds this author, "is mere fiction, spun out of the fertile invention of the Talmudists, without the least foundation either in scripture or in authentic history. * * * But the truth of the whole matter is this: after the death of Simon the Just, (B. C. 299,) there arose a sort of men whom they call the Tanaim, or the Mishnical doctors, that made it their business to study and descant upon those traditions which had been received and allowed by Ezra and the men of the great synagogue, and to draw inferences and consequences from them, all of which they ingrafted in the body of these ancient traditions, as if they had been as authentic as the other; which example being followed by those who succeeded them in this profession, they continually added their own imaginations to what they had received from those that went before them, whereby these traditions becoming as a snow-ball, the farther they rolled down, from one generation to another, the more they gathered, and the greater the bulk of them grew. And thus it went on till the middle of the second century after Christ, when Antonius Pius governed the Roman empire; by which time they found it necessary to put all these traditions into writing; for they were then grown to so great a number, and enlarged to so huge a heap, as to exceed the possibility of being any longer preserved by the memory of men." He proceeds to say, that Rabbi Judah, at this time, undertook the work of compiling

this crude and heterogeneous mass of matter, and finally produced the book which is called the Mishna; "which book was forthwith received by the Jews with great veneration, throughout all their dispersions, and hath ever since been held in high esteem among them: for their opinion of it is, that all the particulars therein recorded were dictated by God himself to Moses," &c. &c.

This, let it be observed, accounts sufficiently for the use of the Mishnical prayers, by Jews of the present day, without at all supposing, necessarily, that any such forms were actually employed in the synagogue worship at the time of Christ.

On page 413, of Prideaux, vol. ii, there occurs another passage worthy of notice. — "After this, (*i. e.* after the death of Simon the Just,) followed the Mishnical times, that is, the times of traditions. Hitherto, the scriptures were the only rule of faith and manners which God's people studied; but henceforth, traditions began to be regarded, till at length they overbore the word of God itself, as we find in our Saviour's time."

Now, let it even be granted that the testimony of the Mishna proves sufficiently the existence and use of liturgies among the Jews, in the time of our Saviour, is it not a reasonable conclusion from the silence of the scriptures on this subject, that these liturgies were Mishnical inventions, and nothing more? But let the history of this famous book be impartially considered, and I ask if it can fairly be regarded as *proving* any thing? Is it a reliable source of testimony on any subject whatever? Prideaux says, that the Mishna was composed about A. D. 150. Dr. Lightfoot says, about A. D. 190, in the latter end of the reign of Commodus; or, as some compute, in the year of Christ, 220. Dr. Lardner fixes the date about the same as Dr. Lightfoot, at 190. Now, giving to the Mishna all possible credit to which, in the judgment of any rational mind, it can be regarded as having a title, the value of its testimony in regard to the point to be proved, is that of a mere oral tradition running through a space of about two hundred years,

mixed up and confounded with a perfect infinitude of other traditions. I am not very solicitous to disprove the assumption that the Jews, in our Lord's time, used a liturgy in their public worship; for if they did so, the argument is irresistible, that it was a corruption of their primitive mode; and our Lord's attendance upon that liturgical worship proves nothing in its favor. Still, I claim, and the facts show, that there is no reliable evidence that they did so. Mr. Schuyler, in his veneration for antiquity, may set a high value on the Mishna, but save as an interesting literary curiosity, containing illustrations of ancient manners, and occasionally, perhaps, throwing some light upon a text of scripture, I do not value it a pin. As a book to be appealed to for the settlement of great questions of christian faith and practice, it is utterly contemptible.

The reliability of the Mishna is as impeachable for the lack of internal as of external evidence. There is really nothing appertaining to it, either in its history, or in the character of its records, to render it a credible witness of any disputed fact; and yet, as I have said already, it contains all the evidence there is, that the Jewish worship in the time of our Saviour was liturgical; all the evidence there is, of a fact which Mr. Schuyler assumes without a word of explanation, and passes lightly over, as though it were some notorious thing of yesterday, with saying that "it will be denied." It may answer in his own pulpit, and before his own people, to dispose of things in this way, but it will not do for him to print his sermons. We *do* deny that the Jewish worship in the time of our Saviour was liturgical. We deny it on the simple ground that there is no sort of reliable evidence that it was so.

Proceeding with his argument, our author says, page 162,—
"But we have *precept* as well as example." His *example*, be it remembered, is in the fact that our Lord was in the habit of attending the synagogue worship of the Jews, which on all accounts was *not* an example, because, first, there is no evidence that that worship was liturgical; and because, secondly, if it

was, our Lord's attendance upon it did not at all imply that he approved of its liturgical character. Now for the *precept*. "We are told by St. Luke, that as our Saviour was praying, when he had ceased, one of the disciples said unto him, 'Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples.' 'And he said unto them, when ye pray, say Our Father which art in heaven,' " &c. "Now in these words," says our author, "we think we have the plainest and fullest authority for a form of prayer." I am infinitely amused with the *reasoning* that follows, not to mention the *grammar*.—"In the first place, *it* proves that John the Baptist had given his disciples a *form*, and this farther proves that such had been the usage of the Jewish church." How so? I can not see it at all. The words which have just been quoted, prove that John the Baptist had taught his disciples to *pray*, but how do they prove that he had given them a *form*, in our author's sense of that word? And how does the fact that John the Baptist had taught his disciples to pray, prove that *forms* of prayer had been used in the Jewish church? I suspect my brother has in some way got possession of Peter Schlemihl's seven league boots. How else he could leap through such immense distances to his conclusions, I am utterly unable to conceive. He goes on to say:

"Being the herald," that is, John the Baptist, "being the herald of a new dispensation, and preaching repentance, warning and exhorting the people to prepare for the approach of their deliverer, it was necessary that they (that is, I suppose, John the Baptist's disciples,) should have forms of devotion adapted to their peculiar errand."

It was necessary that John's disciples should know how to *pray*, undoubtedly; but how was it necessary that they should have *forms* of devotion? Those boots! I verily believe Mr. Schuyler thinks that John gave his disciples a liturgy. He proceeds—

"But had John been in the habit of trusting to the inspiration of the moment, and *to have invited* his disciples to join

with him in offering their extempore effusions, we should never have heard of his having TAUGHT them to pray. The TEACHING NECESSARILY implies the providing them with a NEW form, as our Saviour clearly understood the apostles to mean. THEY wished a NEW FORM, suited to their circumstances, as John had provided one, suited to *that* of himself and his disciples."

It is plain that Mr. Schuyler has no idea of *teaching* on the subject of prayer, which does not consist in the communication of a *form of words*. Is that, I would ask, the beginning and the end of the instructions on this subject, which he feels it his duty to give to his parishioners? Has he nothing to say in regard to the proper subjects of prayer, or the spirit with which it is to be offered, or other similar matters, commonly regarded as important? His task then is a very easy one. It is all done up to his hands. When one of his people comes to him, asking to be *taught* to pray, he has nothing in the world to do but just turn down the leaves of the book at the right places, and tell him, *There sir, say that, and that, and that*. His work is finished when he has provided his inquirer with the proper *forms*. It seems to me that my friend's mind must be mystified by recollections of his early discipline in the nursery—early, yet I am inclined to think *recent*—where he was probably taught to pray by being required to *say* after his mamma, "Our Father," and "Now I lay me."

Did our Saviour intend this prayer, which he gave to his disciples, as a *form*, in our author's sense of that word? He says, page 164—

"That he did not give it *merely* as a *model* after which to form their prayers, is evident from the mode of expression,— 'When ye pray, *say*.' Here it is clear that the use of the *very words* is enjoined upon them."

Now I reply, it is perfectly evident that the use of the *very words* is *not* enjoined upon them, but this prayer was intended to serve *merely* as a *model* after which their prayers should be

formed, and that not a *perfect* one, if all future time is considered. Our reasons are the following:

First. The mode of expression, "when ye pray, say," does not convey the idea that the *very words* were to be used, but is clearly an ellipsis, like that in Matt. x: 7, where our Lord, sending forth the twelve as preachers, says,—“As ye go, preach, *saying* the kingdom of heaven is at hand.” No one, I believe, supposes that this was a form of preaching, which they were to follow in the *very words*. Our Saviour simply indicated to them what the general tenor and substance of their preaching must be. So, most manifestly, we are to understand him in the instance we are considering.

Second. The same prayer, given on another occasion, as recorded by Matthew, was introduced by Christ in terms which directly express our idea concerning it.—“After *this manner*, therefore, pray ye.” Mr. Schuyler says, that it was “designed both as a *form* and as a *model*,” and that as given in Luke it is the former, in Matthew the latter. That is to say, at one time our Lord meant that the prayer which he taught his disciples, should be regarded as a *form*, to be used in the *very words* in which he gave it, and at another time he meant that it should not be a *form* at all, but simply a general *pattern* or *outline* of prayer. In other words, he had no settled purpose in regard to it!

Is our author not capable of perceiving that the Lord's prayer must be either a *model* or a *form*? That we *may* use it as a form, no one denies, for if it is a good model, it must be a good form, when we choose to employ it as such. But we are looking now at the use of it as *authoritative* and *obligatory* in one character or the other. If it is *imposed by Christ's command* as a *form*, then it can not be a model, but must be a *form* always, at all times and in all places. To say that the same authority has given it to us as a *mere model* also, is to say that the command, imposing it on us as a form, is revoked, or nullified.

Now in Matthew, chapter sixth, we have this prayer, given by Christ, according to our author's own admission as a simple *model*. We say, therefore, so far as an obligatory use of it is concerned, it is always a *model* and nothing else.

Third. The Lord's prayer, in the different places in which it occurs, is expressed in different words. If it had been intended as a *form*, we maintain that it would have been expressed always in the same identical terms. Calvin, in commenting on this subject, says,—“The Son of God did not determine the *exact words* that were to be used, so that from that form which he dictated, it would be unlawful to depart; but he rather wished to direct and regulate our desires, that they should not wander beyond these boundaries; whence we infer that the rule of praying rightly, which he has given to us, consists not in *words*, but in *things*.”

Fourth. We never find the Lord's prayer used as a form by any of the apostles. We have the record of prayers offered by them, but never this prayer, or any portion of it. This is very singular. How will Mr. S. account for it? Grotius says,—“Christ did not command the *words* to be recited, but that we should take the *materials* of our prayers thence,” and “that though it may be used with great profit as a form, yet we do not read that ever the apostles used it so.” Maldonatus, in commenting on this prayer, as found in Matthew, says,—“Not necessarily with *these words* are we to pray, but with this or similar meaning; for we never read that the apostles were in the habit of praying in these exact words.” And Rev. Thomas Scott, in his commentary on the same place, thus speaks,—“It may often be proper to use the very words, but it is not always necessary, for we do not find that the apostles thus used it; but we ought always to pray after the manner of it.” Now, I suppose, the apostles must have known just in what sense, and for what purpose this prayer was given to them, and that we may take their usage as tolerably decisive authority in regard to it.

Fifth. We say, that as a *form* of prayer, designed for all time, the Lord's prayer is defective,—and that, in an essential point. It might do for Unitarians, but not for us. We believe that since the death and glorification of Christ, no prayer is complete or can be acceptable, which is not offered in his name. We must come to God by, and in the name of our high priest. Now, the utter absence of any mention of Christ, or allusion to his person or work in the prayer under consideration, we maintain, is perfectly conclusive against the idea of its having been intended as a *form* for christians.

Sixth. There are innumerable special benefits which every soul needs to receive from God, and that daily, which are not named in this prayer. This, however, I do not deem important. I think I have furnished argument enough on this point. If Episcopalians believe that the Saviour meant to have his *very words* in Luke used, by christians, as a *form*, I would like to know why they vary from it in their own prayer-book? I have had the curiosity to look into their book of common prayer, and not an instance do I find, where the words, either of Matthew or of Luke, are precisely followed. The words of Luke, which it is pretended were especially given as a *form*, are hardly followed at all. How is this, Mr. Schuyler? How dare you to deviate?

Suppose we should grant that the Lord's prayer was intended as a *form*, to be used as such, by christians in all ages of the world? What then? Would our author have the proof that he is seeking after? Would it follow that the New Testament enjoins or countenances a complete liturgical service for the worship of God in the church?

There is a gem, in the way of style and argument, on page 166, thrown in, in the form of a note, over the signature of W. S. In style it is *ornamental*,—in argument, it is what is sometimes called a *clincher*. Its piquancy and pertinency are truly remarkable. I quote it here as an act of justice to the amiable author.

"If it had been the desire of our Saviour,"—so W. S. writes, "to have recommended to his disciples, and through them to us, that they should conduct public worship by an extemporaneous method, what may we expect would have been his *reply* to those who asked him that he should teach them to pray? May we not conclude that he would have met their request with some such response as the following: 'Go your way, and make your own prayers; use such prayers as shall come into your minds when required. Are ye *spiritual*, and yet desire to be taught the method of prayer? Can you expect from me a *form* of prayer? Rather rely upon your gifts, and pray extemporaneously.

"But very different was the instruction he gave them; for he furnished them at once with both a form and a model. He recited a prayer which they were to use. They used it, and the church has used it in every age. It has been ever since, and will *always* be a form and a model, and is a standing monument of a precomposed method of worship."

So far as *Mr. Schuyler* is concerned, I think I may say that he gains no assistance in his argument from the Lord's prayer. What next? Oh, read, and admire!—page 166,— "That the apostles worshiped after a *form*, is evident from the fact that Christ prescribed one for them; (!) and *this fact* furnishes us with strong *presumptive* proof, that when they came to form and regulate the services of the christian church, they would be guided in this respect by the will of their master, thus clearly expressed." Excellent! how the tide of my brother's argument bears him on! He certainly has the most astonishing facility in *proving* things, that ever it has been my lot to meet with. He continues:

"Wherever *they* (*i. e.* the apostles,) went, they sought the Jews, and taught them in their synagogues; hence, in their early ministry, the worship which preceded their preaching was that of the Jewish church, which we have shown to have been after a prescribed form: and we can not therefore doubt,

but when they came to set in order the things that were wanting in the church, the putting forth of a liturgy would be among their first duties; and that it was so, is evident from the fact that we have no record of extempore prayer in church worship, in any part of christendom, from the apostle's days to the time of the reformation." The argument here, derived from the fact that the apostles took part in the synagogue worship of the Jews, and preached in the synagogues, is precisely like that which has been already answered, derived from the similar practice of our Lord. If a liturgical service was used in the synagogues, the practice of the apostles does not show that they approved of it. They preached the gospel wherever they could find hearers, whether in the synagogue, or in the street, or in the market place, and they did not make difficulties of things which they could not help. Does Mr. Schuyler think, that if he were to invite me to preach in his church, in connection with his reading of the prayers, I would not do it? I certainly would not refuse to engage in such an act of good christian fellowship; and am very far from thinking that I should thereby compromise my principles on the subject of liturgies.—Very possibly I should preach him a sermon on the superior advantages of free prayer. But we have seen that there is no evidence that the Jewish synagogue worship at the time referred to, was liturgical. Mr. Schuyler says, that he has "shown it to have been after a prescribed form;" but where, or when, or how? I remember he has *said* that *no one will deny* that it was so; but is this *showing* that it was so? He has neither shown it, nor attempted to show it. From this utterly unfounded assumption in regard to the apostles, he infers, "that when they came to put in order the things that were wanting in the church, the putting forth of a liturgy would be among their first duties." This is mere babyism. The apostles put forth a liturgy! Where is it? Does Mr. Schuyler suppose, that if the apostles had given the church a liturgy, it would not have been preserved? Does he suppose,

that so far from not being preserved, there would not be even any trace or record of it? If the apostles gave the church a liturgy, it was inspired. Why was it not enrolled with the sacred canon, and preserved by the same watchful care of Divine Providence which has kept the other scriptures? My brother imposes on his own credulity. No such liturgy, as he speaks of, was ever in existence. It is simply absurd to claim the contrary. That the apostles, among their first acts, gave the church a liturgy, we are told, "is evident, from the fact that we have no record of extempore prayer in church worship in any part of christendom, from their days to the time of the reformation." Have we not? Is Mr. Schuyler ignorant, or does he mean to deceive and impose upon his readers? We shall see shortly what the *fact* on this subject is. We shall see indeed, whether we have any record of *precomposed forms*, until long after the days of the apostles, when they came in with other corruptions of the pure and primitive simplicity of christian worship.

My brother's scriptural argument is ended, and if he himself has not fully vindicated my "bold assertion," then I know not what vindication could be desired. I said the scriptures contained no authority for the use of precomposed forms of prayer. Has he shown the contrary? Has not his utter failure to refute my assertion, proved most conclusively that it is true? I said, there is not a shadow of evidence in the scriptures that the churches in the days of the apostles used forms of prayer, or that a question was ever raised in regard to the propriety of using them. Has he succeeded in producing the shadow of an evidence?

Since Mr. S. has been unable to find any authority for *forms*, let us see how the matter stands in regard to *free prayer*; and I say truly, the scriptures contain all kinds of testimony against forms, and in favor of free prayer.

First. They teach by their *silence*. Free prayer is *natural*; forms are *artificial*. If it was the divine intention, therefore,

that the former and not the latter should be used, nothing was necessary beyond the mere injunction of the duty of prayer. If, however, it was the divine intention that the latter and not the former should be used, it was necessary, besides the injunction of prayer, that there should be a special injunction of the use of *forms*. For example: if I, as a parent, am willing to attend to the merely verbal requests of my child, it is needless for me to say any thing to him on the subject; for, as that is the natural manner of a child's preferring his requests to a father, he will adopt it of course. But if I wish him to prefer his requests in writing, I must tell him so distinctly; this is artificial, and a positive injunction is indispensable. Now the fact that in the scriptures we are simply enjoined to pray, to make our requests known unto God, to call upon his name, while not a word is said about writing our prayers down and reading them, is proof, of the most conclusive kind, that it was intended they should be the free expressions of our desires, and not read from precomposed forms.

The scriptures teach by their silence, in another way. There is no mention in a single place of prayers being *read*, or of the use of a *book*. We have innumerable instances of prayer, but never one of a *read* prayer, or of a prayer repeated memoriter. They record the instructions of our Lord, but never a word that he uttered on the subject of a liturgy. They record the acts of the apostles in regulating the church and setting in order the things that remained after Christ's ascension, but never once breathe a syllable on the subject of their composing a book of prayer. They tell us of the apostles' preaching in the synagogues, and of their preaching in the market-places, and of their preaching in the streets, but never hint of their *reading the service*. Episcopalians think, that in the public worship of God the reading of the church service is the great thing. With them, this is primary, the preaching is secondary. How can they explain this profound silence of the scriptures respecting the prayer book? respecting the *great thing*? Why have we

in no place some such record as the following: "Now when the prayers had been read by Barnabas, Paul stood up and preached unto the people, saying," &c? Mr. Schuyler tells us, page 167, "Wherever they, *i. e.* the apostles, went, they sought the Jews, and taught them in their synagogues; hence, in their early ministry, the worship which preceded their preaching, was that of the Jewish church," which he pretends was liturgical, *i. e.* consisted of a precomposed service of prayer. Compare this statement with a simple record — Acts xiii: 14–16,— "But when they departed from Perga, they came to Antioch in Pisidia, and went into the synagogue, on the sabbath day, and sat down, and after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue, sent unto them saying, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on. Then Paul stood up," &c. Where is Mr. Schuyler's service of prayer? "The law and the prophets" he knows were the scriptures of the Old Testament, simply. Why is the reading of these so distinctly mentioned, and no mention made of the other? Look at every similar record, and over each one, ask, where was the prayer book? Echo will answer, "Where was the prayer-book?" Still, my brother will have it, that in every such instance, the preaching of the apostles was preceded by a liturgical service of prayer!

Second. The scriptures convey instruction on this point by their *exhortations*, and their *preceptive teaching* on the general subject of prayer. Eph. vi: 18,— "Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints."—I will only ask the candid reader whether this *looks* as though Paul expected a *book* to be used? Again; turn to Rom. xv: 30, 31,— "Now I beseech you brethren — that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me, that I may be delivered from them that do not believe in Judea; and that my service which I have for Jerusalem, (he was the bearer of the contributions of foreign christians to the poor saints at Jerusalem,)

may be accepted of the saints." Does this seem to intimate that they were restricted to the forms of a book, or, that they had the largest liberty to introduce into their prayers all subjects whatsoever, that might seem to be proper and expedient? Look now at 1 Cor. xiv: 13, and onward. I call attention particularly to this passage. The apostle is speaking expressly of praying *in the church*, be it observed. He says, "Wherefore let him that speaketh in an unknown tongue, *pray* that he may interpret." That is, according to Macknight, "so as some one may interpret." He adds, "Else when thou shalt bless with the Spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say amen at thy giving of thanks? seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest, for thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified." Now, I ask, how could there be prayer in the church in an unknown tongue, if the church was tied up to certain specified forms; if there was a prayer book?" If Mr. S. should reply, that they might have recited the *authorized prayers* in an unknown tongue, then I ask again, where was the need of an interpreter? If each man had the prayers before him, written down in a language which he perfectly understood, could he not join in them by simply looking over in his book? Could he not know, without having them interpreted, when to say amen, and what he was saying amen to? I challenge any one to explain this passage on any other assumption than that, in the early and apostolic church the prayers were *free*, uttered as they were conceived in the heart of the person offering them?

In first Timothy, ii: 1, 2, Paul says — "I exhort, therefore, first of all, that prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority," &c. Why such an exhortation, if the prayers to be said in the church were all put down already, in set forms and order? The exhortation would appear very proper on the supposition that the prayers were free, but entirely superfluous

on the supposition that they were all prescribed and arranged in a liturgy.

I might quote such texts as these indefinitely. One or two more, however, shall suffice. Take such a passage as that in Phil. iv: 6, — “Be careful for nothing, but in *every thing*, by prayer and supplication, let your requests be made known unto God.” Was there ever seen on earth a prayer-book, in the use of which this injunction might be followed? Is it possible, except by *free prayer*, to obey either the letter or the spirit of the apostle’s exhortation? To show that the language of the Old Testament is coincident with that of the new, let the exhortation of David, in the sixty-second psalm, be considered — “Trust in him (God) at all times, ye people; pour out your *heart* before him.” Now, what idea does any one get of this *pouring out of the heart* before God? I think it is of something widely different from reading prayers out of a book. So also it may be said of the prophet’s exhortation, Isaiah lv: 6, — “Seek ye the Lord while he may be found; *call* ye upon him while he is near.” Only to think of a sinner, agonized and trembling under a sense of his exposure to divine wrath, and of the awful danger of having the last moment of mercy slip from him unimproved, reading his prayer out of a book! thumbing over the leaves of a prayer book to find a petition suitable to his case, while his heart is bursting to utter in the ear of heaven its loud and earnest cry for deliverance! Does any one suppose that the prophet had such a thing in his mind as this? I affirm that the whole current style of the hortatory and preceptive teaching of the bible, on the subject of prayer, implies that prayer is to be *free*, and is directly adverse to the notion of prescribed forms and liturgies. And now,

Third. For the scripture teaching by examples. The prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple, the best instance of public prayer, of prayer in the presence of a congregation, recorded in the Old Testament, we have considered. Examples from the New Testament are especially required, and

there are enough of them. First, look at the record in Acts i: 13, 14.—“And when they were come in, they went up into an upper room, where abode Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, Philip and Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew, James the son of Alphaeus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas the brother of James. These all continued with one accord in prayer and supplication, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren.” Here is a fair example of social prayer. Indeed, it was the *church* that was gathered together in this upper chamber. Does Mr. Schuyler believe that they used, on this occasion, precomposed forms? Has he even a suspicion that they did so? If he does believe or suspect it, will he venture an opinion as to where the written forms suited to the unprecedented exigency of that time were found? Does the simple statement of the narrative *look* as though they prayed from a book? Would it naturally suggest such an idea to any sane mind? “These all continued,” not in the *reading of prayers*, but “in prayer and supplication,” in pouring out, undoubtedly, their *hearts* before God. In the same chapter, read the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth verses.—“And they prayed and said, Thou Lord which knowest the hearts of all men,” &c. The occasion was that of choosing Matthias by lot, to fill the place of Judas. This prayer was offered in an assembly of the church, on a great and solemn occasion. Was it part of a liturgy then existing? If so, by whom was that liturgy composed? It will not be pretended that the apostles, at so early a period, had composed one, nor that such a prayer could have been found in any liturgy in use among the Jews. Whence, then, was it obtained? Now, let any one read the prayer; short, all contained in two little verses; simple, just stating their request that God would show by the lots about to be cast, whether he had chosen Matthias or Barsabas, and let him say, if the supposition is unreasonable, that it was conceived and uttered at the moment. Can any one doubt that this was the real fact? Again. Take the

prayer recorded in Acts iv: 24–30. Let the circumstances be considered in which this prayer was uttered. The church was in sore affliction. Persecution was beginning to rage. Peter and John had just been imprisoned and cruelly treated, for preaching in the name of Jesus, and were now only set at liberty under strict charge to preach no more. Dangers were pressing upon them on every hand, and nothing, to human eyes, appeared more probable, than that the new faith was about to be crushed by the mighty power of its adversaries. When Peter and John were let go, we are told, they went to their own company, *i. e.* to the church, whom they found assembled, doubtless praying already for their imprisoned brethren, and considering of the state of their affairs; “and they reported all that the chief priests and elders had said unto them. And when they heard that, they lifted up their voice to God with one accord, and said, Lord, thou art God, which hast made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is; who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said, Why did the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together against the Lord, and against his Christ. For of a truth against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and people of Israel, were gathered together, for to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done. And now Lord, behold their threatenings; and grant unto thy servants, that with all boldness they may speak thy word, by stretching forth thine hand to heal, and that signs and wonders may be done by the name of thy holy child Jesus.” Now let any person attentively consider this prayer, so seasonable in its appeals, so evidently framed to meet the very wants and exigencies of the time, so full of allusions to events actually transpiring, and say if he will, that it was part of an established liturgy — that it was read from a book. Let it not be forgotten

that this is an example of public prayer, of prayer in an assembly of christians, in the church.

Once more. Acts xii: 5,—“And Peter was kept in prison, but *prayer* was made without ceasing, of *the church* unto God for him.” Was this done, does any one suppose, by a precomposed form? Was there a liturgy at that time, which contained a form of prayer suitable for such a crisis? The Episcopal prayer-book may contain a petition that God will show his “pity upon all prisoners and captives,” but where has it prayers that would have served the purpose of the church when they were met to beseech God on behalf of Peter, fallen into the hands of his enemies? If there is no liturgy now that is sufficiently copious to meet such a case, can it be supposed that there was one at that early day? It is idle to debate. The church, on that occasion, had assembled to *pour out their hearts* before God, to plead on their brother’s behalf in such words as the spirit of God should dictate to their minds.

More examples are not wanting, but these will suffice.

And now, although I am swelling this article beyond all expectation, I must take the trouble, seeing that Mr. Schuyler has said, “We have no record of extempore prayer in church worship, in any part of christendom, from the apostles’ days to the time of the reformation,” to adduce some testimony on this point.

I might *assert* that what he says is *just opposite the truth*, and I suppose my assertion would weigh as much as his. But I am not content with barely *balancing* his assertion,—I wish to prove that it is not true. We have seen already that there is ample record of extempore prayers in the *very time* of the apostles. Now for the times *after* the apostles.

The truth on this subject is very briefly and clearly stated by the late Dr. Ebenezer Porter, President of the Andover Theological Seminary. In his Lectures on Homiletics, page 292, he says,—“When, and how, then, did liturgies come into use? I answer promptly, nothing of the kind, that is

genuine, can be fixed upon, for the first three hundred years after Christ. When the Arian and Pelagian doctrines began seriously to disturb the church, various forms of expression, occasioned by public controversy, gradually insinuated themselves into the language of prayer; and it was deemed necessary by the council of Laodicea, A. D. 364 or 365, to require by ecclesiastical regulations, that ministers, instead of using the liberty before enjoyed, should always keep to *one form of prayer*, *i. e.* should not pray ‘*pro arbitrio, sed semper easdem preces.*’ This form, however, *each minister might compose for himself*, provided that ‘before using it he should consult with learned and experienced brethren.’ This regulation was explained, as already in existence, by the council of Carthage, A. D. 397. About twenty years later, that is, A. D. 416, the council of Milan ordained that none should use set forms of prayer, except such as were approved in a synod. The result of my inquiries is, that no forms of prayer were prescribed by public authority till the fifth century. Before this, forms were used at the option of individual ministers.”

Until A. D. 364, then, every minister prayed “*pro arbitrio*,” that is, according to his own judgment, or the dictates of his own mind. Prayer was *free*. Subsequently, until the year 416, each minister was required to write his prayers out, and having had them approved by “learned and experienced brethren,” to use “*semper easdem preces*”—always the same prayers. After A. D. 416, the ministers ceased to make their own prayers, and forms were prescribed by the synod. Was Mr. Schuyler utterly ignorant of these simple facts of history?

Authorities for free and extempore prayer in the primitive church are not wanting. I shall cite a few of the many that I have before me. *Justin Martyr*, in the second century, describing the manner of offering up prayer in the church, in his time, says — Apol. ii, in fine. p. 162 — “He, *i. e.* the president, offers prayers and thanksgivings *according as he is able*,” *i. e.* according to the ability that he possesses. Such is a fair,

rendering of the Greek. Some advocates of liturgies have pretended that this expression, "*as he is able*," means *according to the fervency of his desires*; that it has respect to the *spirit*, rather than to the *substance* and words of his prayers. But this is a bare subterfuge, and a very poor one. No one would think of saying that my brother Schuyler "offers prayers and thanksgivings" in his church every sabbath day, *according as he is able*, or *according to the ability he possesses*. No; that is the charge against us Presbyterian ministers; that *we* are left, each of us, to pray *according to our ability*, and that many of us, lacking the ability, make shocking work of it; while Episcopal rectors, having all such a beautiful liturgy which they are required to use, are enabled, though of feeble capacity, to make their services always edifying and pleasing. To test the meaning of Justin in this place, we may refer to another instance in his writings, where the same expression in his own Greek occurs, as that upon which we are now debating. He says—Apol. ii, in fine. p. 157—"Having, therefore, exhorted you *as we are able*, we shall be henceforth blameless if you do not believe." What the expression, "*as we are able*," means here, no one can be at a loss to tell. The testimony, therefore, of this father is, that in his time, the prayers offered in the church were *extempore*.

My next authority is *Hermas*, who wrote some forty years earlier than Justin. I quote from the *Pastor*, lib. 2,—“When a man who has the spirit of God, comes into the church of just men, who have the faith of God, and *prayer* is made to God,⁵ then the holy messenger for the divinity fills him with the Holy Ghost, and he speaks in the congregation *as God would have him*.” That is, he *prays* as God would have him, for it is of *prayer* that *Hermas* is speaking. Does not this mean, *he prays as he is prompted at the time by the Holy Ghost*? Can it mean any thing else? Thus the testimony of Justin is confirmed.

Tertullian, A. D. 200, uses the following language,— Apol. c. 30. He also is describing the manner of christian worship. —“Looking up to heaven, they spread abroad their hands, because innocent, with their heads uncovered, because not ashamed, and without a monitor, because they prayed from the heart.” This passage presents the most unequivocal evidence, that in Tertullian’s time, prayer in the public worship of God was extempore, and not by written forms. I have a similar testimony from *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who flourished A. D. 194. The quotation is made by Dr. Porter in his Lectures on Homiletics. This father says,—“We pray with the head lifted up, and the hands stretched out.” In addition to Tertullian’s testimony that they prayed without a monitor, *i. e.* without a book or any thing written down, because they *prayed from the heart*,—the testimony of both these fathers, that they performed this service with their heads elevated, and their hands outstretched, like Solomon’s at the dedication of the temple, is absolutely fatal to the idea that they used a book. If they had used a book, both hands and eyes would have had employment altogether incompatible with such an attitude.

Tertullian says again, in his book on prayer, ch. 9,—“Yet, since our Lord, who foresaw men’s necessities, after he had delivered the rule of prayer, said particularly, ‘Ask and ye shall receive;’ *and there are several things which need to be asked according to every one’s circumstances*,—the rightful and ordinary prayer being first used as a foundation, *we may lawfully add other desires, and build other petitions upon it.*”

Origen’s testimony on this subject is very full. This father flourished about A. D. 230. In his eighth book against Celsus, from page 386, to page 402, there is much that might be quoted. The following passages among others, occur,—“We worship one God and his one Son, who is his word and image, with supplications and honors, *according to our ability.*” Again; “but the Grecian christian in Greek, the Romans in Latin, and every one in his own proper language, *prays to God,*

and praises him as he is able. Lord chancellor King, after quoting Origen's comment on the injunction, not to use "*vain repetitions*," has this judicious observation,—“Surely this caution had been needless, of strictly observing the *words* that they uttered, and this fear had been groundless, of expressing themselves indecently, or sinfully, if they had a prayer-book to recur to.”

Dr. Porter, in his Lectures on Homiletics, page 293, says,—“Origen, in his treatise on prayer, maintains the necessity of *closing the eyes* to avoid the interruption of external objects. In his treatise *contra celsum*, too, he says, that ‘we should *close the eyes of the body*, and elevate those of the soul.’ Now, it must have been a gift next to inspiration to *read* prayers with the eyes shut.”

Let me close those citations with a passage from Augustine, who flourished in the fourth century. He is enforcing the necessity of the people being taught to exercise humility and forbearance in estimating the gifts of ministers. He says,—De Catech. Rudib. cap. ix, tom. iv,—“Make them understand that not the voice, but the feelings of the soul, reach the ear of God; for then they will not laugh if they observe any of the bishops and ministers of the church *are guilty of barbarisms and solecisms* in their praying to God.” How, it may be asked, could the officiating ministers be guilty of *barbarisms* and *solecisms*, in their praying to God, if they used precomposed forms?

Will these testimonies be deemed sufficient? I have more of them at hand, if they are called for; but I can not think that more are necessary. The truth is, the entire weight of testimony, and in fact, every thing that can have weight as testimony, is in favor of free prayer, both among the Jews and in the early christian church. Yet, Mr. Schuyler coolly tells us, and leaves it there, as though it were a *settled fact*, that we have no record of extempore prayer in the church, in any part of christendom previous to the reformation! He has

the authority of the bishop of Vermont for this, I know; but with the bishop of Vermont, who, by the way, is no more bishop of Vermont than I am, but of a very few feeble Episcopal congregations in that state, it is just as unproved an assertion as it is with the real bishop of St. John's church in the city of Buffalo. I have read Dr. Hopkins' lecture on liturgies, in his book entitled, "The Primitive Church," and find that it contains all Mr. Schuyler has said on this subject, with *a remarkable similarity in the manner of saying it*, and some things besides, which I regret Mr. Schuyler did not say, as it would have afforded me peculiar pleasure to reply to them. For example, I would have liked to show how sorely pushed for an argument a man must be, when he finds it necessary to quote in defense of liturgies, Paul's words to Timothy,—2 Tim. i: 13,—“Hold fast the *form* of sound words, which thou hast heard of me, in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus!” I would have liked to solve also, what seems to Dr. Hopkins, on our principles, so incredible a marvel, as, “that such an alteration,” as the introduction of liturgical services in the place of free prayer, in the public worship of God, “could have taken place in the primitive church, without noise, without opposition, yea, so quietly, and so much in the dark, that not one line remains to testify the fact to after ages.” The wonder, demanding an explanation, might be somewhat diminished to his view, by letting him know that instead of there being “not one line left to testify the fact (of this change) to after ages,” a very distinct, and satisfactory, and credible account of the change is actually upon record, and may be exhibited to him at any time that he desires to be enlightened. For the rest, how does he know that this change took place “without noise,” and “without opposition?”

A change in the manner of public worship, which took place more than fourteen hundred years ago, may have excited opposition and a noise, or it may not. If we have historical evidence of the change itself, we may well be content, without demanding

an account of all the minute details and particular circumstances attending it. For all that appears to the contrary, there may have been noise and opposition enough to satisfy even Dr. Hopkins, could he be sufficiently certified of it, that the introduction of liturgies was an innovation on all former usage. But, how, he asks, would the christians of that age submit to such a change at all? — “Let us only imagine what a clamor would be raised, if any man or set of men should try to introduce liturgies among our Presbyterian or Congregational brethren. Let any degree of practicable human management be used to change their habits on this subject, and I venture to say, that if the attempt succeeded at all, it would be but partially, and at the cost of an open and bitter schism.” The Dr. is right in this, beyond the shadow of a doubt. But is there no difference between the circumstances of his Presbyterian and Congregational brethren at the present day, and those of the christians of the fourth and fifth centuries? I believe I may venture to ask Dr. Hopkins himself, if he does not think that we are *rather* their superiors in point of *intelligence*? Certainly, he will own that among us there is no monarchical power to make changes at its will, resembling the well-grown hierarchy of the period at which we affirm that the change under consideration was introduced. So far from its being a wonderful thing, that such a change should have been made, and the people should have submitted to it, we rather look upon it as most natural, that when the christian ministry, according to all historical evidence, was filled with extremely illiterate men, wholly incompetent to conduct the services of religion themselves, the idea of providing them with written prayers should have occurred to the governors of the church; and we see nothing *more* difficult to understand, in the supposition that the people, as ignorant, to say the least, as their priests, and by this time accustomed to submit to the domination of their bishops, should have accepted the change when it was imposed upon them. That, therefore, which seems to Dr. Hopkins a

"*wild supposition*," I think will not seem so to others; and the marvel which overwhelms his powers of conception, I am persuaded, will *very generally* appear a most natural and rational affair.

I shall not attempt to follow Mr. Schuyler in his argument for liturgies on the ground of expediency.

We object to liturgies on the ground of expediency, affirming,—First, that they are unfavorable to devotion, and tend to mere formality in religion.

Second. That they can not be framed so as to meet all the possible and ever actually recurring wants of the soul, and to be adapted to all the varied and ever varying circumstances of the church.

We object to them farther and mainly, on the ground that they are totally destitute of authority in the scriptures, being mere devices of men, and corruptions of the worship which God himself has sanctioned, and which is commended to us by the practice of our Lord, of his apostles, and the first christians.

The main practical objection to free prayer, which is urged by our author, is stated on page 174, as follows:

"Who that has attended public worship thus conducted, has not often gone away, feeling that his spiritual desires have been unsatisfied, and that there was much in his heart which had found no expression in the prayers of the minister? Or, who has not been pained with listening to *irreverent* and *unsuitable* petitions, or *chilled* with the set phrases, and stiff and formal sentences of the dull and lifeless petitioner, or *shocked* by the reckless discussion of some favored topic of fanaticism?"

I think it will not be considered *unfair*, if I refeather this shaft, and send it back. My opinion is, that it will fly as well in that direction as in this, and *stick* there as well as here.

Who, that has attended public worship in churches where a liturgical service was employed, if of a devotional frame of mind, has not often gone away feeling that his spiritual desires have been unsatisfied, and that there was much in his heart

that had found no expression in the prayers that the minister read out of his book? Or, who has not been pained by the light and irreverent manner in which the prayers were read, as well as by the "vain repetitions," and sometimes unscriptural doctrine of the prayers themselves; or chilled with the set phrases and monotonous petitions of the book, made still more set and monotonous by the affected drawl of the dull and lifeless reader; or shocked by the exhibition of the most unmistakable signs, that what was a mere form in the letter, was a mere form also in the spirit, and hardly revered even as a form of worship offered to God?

For the edification of my readers, and possibly of Mr. Schuyler himself, I will here describe a veritable scene, of which I myself was a disgusted eye-witness, seven years ago, in London. Attracted by, I hope, a pardonable curiosity, I attended morning service, one day, at St. Paul's, the very *high place* of episcopacy in England. The litany was chaunted by the officiating minister of the day, assisted in the responses by three or four little boys, frocked in white, who stood in a side gallery opposite the reading desk. During the entire service the boys were making themselves merry, in a quiet way, at something that amused them in the congregation. There were, in all, perhaps fifty persons in attendance. In the course of the ceremony, the minister, who probably had been hastily summoned from his dreams to engage in this duty, actually went through with the most offensive operations of his neglected toilette, occupying with this most devout exercise, chiefly, the time of the responses. First, he pared and scraped his nails; then with an ear-shovel he removed the serum from the cavities of his ears, examining the shovel after each use of it, apparently to see what was obtained. When this was done, the tweezers were applied to his reverend nose, and many a quick jerk bore witness that this labor, at least, was not a *form*. The toilette and the prayers were concluded together.

You look incredulous, gentle reader, but I do assure you that what I have described, without exaggeration or adornment, my own eyes saw. You may suggest that I had no business to be looking about me in such a place. Perhaps I had not, but I did, nevertheless. *Confiteor mihi peccatum.*

Alas! alas! for the unseemly possibilities of our Presbyterian prayers. It must, at least, be owned that we would not find it easy to beat his *reverence* of St. Paul's.

The only farther comment that I desire to make, involves another story. When this most edifying service was ended, I passed out of the chapel, into the nave of the cathedral, where, after a little time, I was joined by that Mr. Huntington who wrote the silly, but somewhat celebrated religious romance, entitled "Lady Alice." He was then, a high-toned Episcopalian, but has since yielded to his tendencies, and joined the Roman Catholics. "Well," said Mr. H. in a very low tone of voice, as though he felt himself to be standing on holy ground, "tell me, Mr. Thompson, what impression has this service made upon your mind?" Do you really wish me, I replied, to tell you exactly what I think of it? "Oh, certainly; of course." Well then, my dear sir, said I, to speak with entire plainness, and I beg you will not take it as a personal affront, I think it is one of the biggest humbugs in all London. "I can only say," rejoined Mr. H. with a most lugubrious roll of his eyes, as, after a little hesitation, he turned away from me, apparently horrified at my impiety,—"*I can only say that your opinion evinces a very imperfect development of the religious principle in you!*"

I will only add, that there is evidently no security in a liturgy, against the evil of which Mr. Schuyler complains. On the lips of a buffoon, or a fop, or a fool, even the Lord's prayer may be divested of all its power to enliven and edify the souls of men. I do not deny, that there may have been sometimes in Presbyterian pulpits, mournful and mortifying exhibitions, both of mental and moral incapacity to conduct the devotions

of God's people, but I do deny that in this respect Episcopals have any advantage over us. I affirm, on the contrary, that they greatly suffer in a comparison.

MR. SCHUYLER'S APPENDIX.

I propose briefly to notice a variety of matters which our author has collected from various sources, and thrown together in a heterogeneous mass, at the end of his volume. His first article is an extract from bishop Macoskry, of Michigan, on the

REPUBLICAN CHARACTER OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Why he deemed it necessary to introduce this topic, I can not imagine, unless he felt a suspicion that the point to which it relates is one on which his church is peculiarly vulnerable. I do not see that it has any intimate relation to the object of his book, or that it can seriously affect, either way, the main question in debate between us. Either, he had some special reason for being sensitive on this subject, and therefore availed himself of this not very suitable occasion for relieving his mind, or else, which perhaps is the more charitable conclusion, he barely wanted an appendix, a tail to his kite, and fancied this would do to begin with, as well as any thing. Bishop Macoskry says, "At the time of our civil revolution, the church, as is well known, separated herself entirely from the jurisdiction of a foreign bishop, and declared her independence," &c. &c. Was it *at the time* of our civil revolution, or *after*? Did the Episcopal church sympathize with the spirit of that great national movement, and co-operate with it; or, when the movement was perfected, did she ungracefully submit to a necessity, and conform herself, for the sake of her own existence, to her altered circumstances? I am not going into a discussion of this

subject. If any of my readers desire to see full justice done to it, I recommend them to the able work of Dr. Thomas Smyth, of Charleston, S. C., on "Ecclesiastical Republicanism." What attitude the Episcopal church in this country occupied "*at the time of our civil revolution,*" is very well understood by those who are at all conversant with the history of that eventful and trying period. That, from the beginning to the end, it was an attitude of decided and earnest *protest*, I can not suppose that any man needs to be informed, for it is notorious, that as a body, the Episcopalians of the country were either openly or covertly devoted to the English interest, and that great numbers of their clergy resigned their charges and went home in disgust, while those who remained, as a general thing, both preached and prayed against the cause of the colonies.

Whether the Episcopal church is republican or otherwise in its present peculiar organization, I have no disposition to inquire. That the Presbyterian church is so in a pre-eminent degree, everybody knows, who knows any thing about it. I feel very much as a distinguished friend of mine, Dr. Joel Parker, expressed himself on another subject, some few years ago, in the city of Philadelphia. It was at an anniversary meeting of the Pennsylvania Bible Society, on which occasion Dr. P. was one of the speakers. He had been preceded by Rev. Dr. Tyng, who, with all his christian liberality, can never suffer an opportunity to slip unimproved, of bestowing his laudations on "the church." Dr. T. had been boasting of his long and devoted attachment to the cause then advocated before the meeting, and reiterating his assurances to the congregation that his church loved it, and that his brethren in the ministry loved it, and especially, that he knew it to be dear to the heart of their newly-elected bishop (Dr. Potter) whom he desired to commend to their esteem and confidence as a staunch friend of the Bible Society. When Dr. Parker arose, he said, "We are pleased to hear that the Episcopal clergy are so favorable to

the dissemination of the bible, and especially, that this is true of the bishop elect of the Episcopal church in this state. We shall be happy, when he arrives, to give him the right hand of fellowship, and to own that he is almost as good a bishop as any of us." My friend's politeness evidently betrayed him into a slight extravagance here. "In regard to us Presbyterians," he continued "there is no occasion for giving assurances of our devotion to the work in which this society is engaged. You all know where we stand. A Presbyterian, of course," &c. &c.

So precisely, in regard to civil liberty. A Presbyterian, of course, is a liberty-man, and a liberty-supporting man, the world over. As far as it is possible for him to be so, he is a *republican*, in whatever age, or in whatever country you find him. He believes that the bible teaches the simplest and purest principles of democracy; that it is opposed to the rule of all kings but Christ, and that it aims to establish, ere the world shall be burnt up, universal freedom, and equal rights, under a universal sovereignty of the people. This is part of a Presbyterian's religious faith. We need not proclaim the republicanism of our church. The world has been well instructed on this point.

Bancroft, in his history of the United States, says,—“We are proud of the free states that fringe the Atlantic. The pilgrims of Plymouth were Calvinists; the best settlers of South Carolina came from the Calvinists of France; William Penn was the disciple of the Huguenots;—the ships from Holland that first brought colonists to Manhattan were filled with Calvinists. *He that will not honor the memory, and respect the influence of Calvin, knows but little of the origin of American liberty.*” In connection with this, may be cited the admission of Thomas Jefferson, an admission which is the more valuable in consequence of his well known dislike of the men whom he thus honored, that, to no class of persons in this country was the successful issue of the American struggle for

independence more directly attributable, than to the ministers of the Presbyterian and Congregational churches.

Gibbon says,—“After we pass the difficulties of the first century, we find the Episcopal form universally established, till it was interrupted by the *republican spirit of the Swiss and German reformers, for Calvin, though born in France, was a Swiss reformer.*”

When the unhappy Charles First was urged to give his assent to the act of Parliament for abolishing episcopacy, he wrote to lord Jermyñ, lord Culpepper, and Mr. Ashburnham, his tried friends and counsellors, as follows : “Show me any precedent where presbyterial government and regal were together without perpetual rebellions, which was the cause that necessitated the king, my father, to change that government in Scotland. And in France, where they are upon tolerance, (which in likelihood should cause moderation,) did they ever sit still so long as they had power to rebel? And it can not be otherwise, *for the ground of their doctrine is anti-monarchical.* I will say, without hyperbole, that there was not a wiser man since Solomon than he who said ‘*No bishop, no king.*’”

King James, at the Hampton court conference, held by him in 1604, happening to hear bishop (then Dr.) Reynolds use the word *presbytery*, broke out in the following language: “You are aiming at a Scot’s presbytery, which agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil. Then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council, and all our proceedings.”

Similar testimonies and admissions might be furnished without number.

THE IGNATIAN EPISTLES.

I said, in the appendix to my sermon, page fifty-five, "The ancient authors on whom prelatists mainly rely, are Clement, who flourished about A. D. 100, Ignatius, his cotemporary, and Ireneus, who lived nearly a century later." I might have said, that Ignatius alone, is the witness among those who are commonly styled the apostolic fathers, on whom their dependence is placed. Thus an Episcopalian, author of *Letters on the Fathers*, page sixty-seven, says,— "As to bishops distinct from presbyters, we have no evidence, except that of Ignatius, for the first two centuries. Clement and Polycarp most clearly recognize but two orders. Barnabas and Hermas have nothing very distinct on the subject. Justin mentions only two officers in the church in his time, whom he calls president and deacon. Ireneus uses the terms bishop and presbyter indiscriminately. Thus we see, the weight of evidence, during the first two centuries, is against three orders,—which may naturally create suspicion that those passages in Ignatius which refer to them are interpolations; for he stands *alone* in what he states for the first two centuries; and not only alone, *but opposed by the strongest authorities during that period.*"

This father, to whom any number of epistles have at different times been attributed, is not now regarded by any as being the author of more than *seven*, and of these seven, the genuineness of *four*, those to the Magnesians, Trallians, Smyrnæans, and Philadelphians, has always been disputed. It has, nevertheless, been the habit of authors to quote from all of them,—it being understood that their doubtful authority should be taken at its duly depreciated value. In our controversy with Episcopalians, seeing that the genuineness of all the seven epistles is claimed by them, we feel at liberty to quote even from those which we hold to be apocryphal. Though the authority is not respected by us, it is by them, and we are willing

to show them how weak is their position, even where they consider it most impregnable. Very recently, however, there have been made important discoveries in regard to these Ignatian epistles, which, I am inclined to think, will effectually exclude from all credit the four that I have named, and consign them henceforth, by general consent, to the catalogue of admitted forgeries. I refer those who desire particular information, to the number of the *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1849, article sixth. The article is a notice of the "*Corpus Ignatianum*, by William Cureton, M. A., F. R. S." This work was published in London, in 1849, and judging from what appears in the *Review*, I am satisfied that it does contain testimony which, by the learned world, will be regarded as conclusive, that the four epistles above named are spurious, and that even the three which are admitted to be genuine, are sadly infected with interpolations.

The state of the Ignatian controversy, independently of Mr. Cureton's discoveries, can not be more distinctly or briefly presented, than in the following extract from the article in the *Edinburgh Review*:—"The fact of epistles having been written by Ignatius to different christian communities, a short time before his martyrdom, is sufficiently well attested. They are mentioned by respectable authors of the second and third centuries,—by Polycarp, Ireneus, Theophilus of Antioch, and Origen,—who refer to or quote three several epistles, still extant; but do not intimate that any others were then in existence. In the fourth century, however, Eusebius specifies seven epistles, attributed to Ignatius, as being current in his time; but speaks of them in guarded terms, as if he were not perfectly satisfied of their genuineness. He states indeed, that those addressed to the Romans and to Polycarp, had been mentioned by ancient writers; and he might have added the testimony of Origen with regard to the one to the Ephesians. But neither he nor any one else adduces ancient evidence on behalf of those to the Magnesians, Trallians, Philadelphians,

and Smyrnæans, which were circulated along with the others in the fourth century. Here then, we have *three* documents, indubitably known at a very early period, placed in company with *four* others, which, as far as we know, were never heard of before the fourth century. The question, therefore, naturally arises, whether all seven are to be put on the same footing? or, whether the same process of amplification was exercised on Ignatius, to which St. Clement had been subjected in the previous century? This point was argued, *pro* and *con*, with great ability in the seventeenth century; but, as is generally the case in controversies, when the data are scanty, and the opponents equally matched and equally confident, with very unsatisfactory results."

The question respecting the genuineness of the four disputed epistles may be regarded as having been, previous to the publication of Mr. Cureton, pretty equally balanced, — prelatists affirming, and others denying. The testimony of archbishop Usher may be appealed to as confirming what I say, of the perfectly unsettled state of this controversy. At the time of the reformation no less than fifteen epistles were extant in the church, supposed to have been written by Ignatius. Eight of these were so evidently forgeries, that on the slightest inspection, their credit was destroyed, even with those who would have been most interested in maintaining it. They had manifestly been composed for the purpose of fraudulently maintaining the influence of the hierarchy, being filled with the most inflated representations of the importance and high authority of the episcopal office.

The four disputed epistles that remain, present nearly all the marks internally of having been forged for party purposes, which are presented by the eight rejected ones, and differ from them in no important respect, save that they are manifestly of an earlier date, having been doubtfully mentioned by Eusebius. But why is there no mention of them by any author who proceeded Eusebius? Why do not Polycarp, Ireneus,

Theophilus, and Origen, who distinctly mention the other three, take some notice of these also? We can account for their utter silence concerning these epistles in no other way, than by supposing that they had no knowledge of them, because the epistles had no existence; and knowing, as we do, that the episcopal leaven had begun to work before the time of Eusebius, and that the fashion of forging epistles for party purposes had been introduced, we are furnished with the ground of a supposition in regard to them, which reasonably satisfies our minds, if it does not the minds of our opponents in this debate.

This much may be safely said, that the epistles to the Magnesians, Trallians, Smyrnæans, and Philadelphians, do not stand upon such ground of evidence, as can justify an appeal to them for the settlement of debated questions of christian faith and practice.

In regard to the acknowledged works of the ancient fathers, those passages in them which bear strongly on controverted subjects, are always to be taken with many grains of allowance. Who knows whether they are interpolations or not? or whether, at least, they have not been subjected to important verbal alterations? If the rage for accumulating testimony of this kind was such as to multiply without number entire works of imposture, ascribing them to authors who would have blushed to see their names so employed, who can doubt that the genuine productions of these authors, as far as it could safely be done, were tampered with, and corrupted for similar ends?

In regard to the epistles of Ignatius, the *London Christian Observer*, one of the oldest and most respectable Episcopalian periodicals now published, holds the following language: "In these epistles we have the same order of bishops, priests, and deacons, marshalled with unseasonable exactness, and repeated with importunate anxiety. There appear, moreover, so many symptoms of contrivance, that these compositions will surely not be alledged by any *capable* and *candid* advocate for primitive

episcopacy, without *great hesitation*; by many they will be utterly rejected." The writer asserts, in the same connection, that in all the particular passages which bear most strongly on the episcopal controversy, "the language, at the earliest, is that of the *fourth century*."

"It is impossible," says *Mr. Riddle*, "to attach any importance to any separate portions of these epistles, in which it is highly probable that spurious clauses have been artfully mixed up with the genuine expressions of the apostolical fathers."

Let no one suppose that I desire to destroy the credit of these ancient writings, through fear of any legitimate use that can be made of them in this controversy. I still affirm, with the Episcopal writer whom I have already quoted, that the weight of evidence during the first two centuries, is against our opponents, and in our favor.

Of the quotations from Ignatius, made by Dr. Carmichael, with which our author has favored us, two only, the first and the last, are from epistles acknowledged to be genuine.

EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS, Sec. 2.—I transcribe the important sentence.—"For even Jesus Christ, our inseparable life, is *sent* by the will of the Father; *as the bishops appointed unto the utmost bounds of the earth, are, by the will of Jesus Christ*." The entire value to Episcopalians of this passage depends upon the occurrence of the word "*bishops*" in it, and the sheer assumption that that word stands for something more than ordinary christian ministers. What right have they to make such an assumption? We insist that they have none whatever. In the writings of the apostles, in the New Testament, they are forced to own that the word *bishop* is convertible with *presbyter*, and means always the very same thing. On what ground, then, do they assume that in the writings of those who immediately succeeded the apostles, it means something different? Let them show, if they can, a single substantial reason for supposing that the use of the word was so early changed. This they can not do. Substitute in this passage from Ignatius,

ministers for bishops, or understand the latter word in the authorized scriptural sense, and then the passage stands for precisely what it is.

Sec. 4. "Wherefore it will become you to run together, according to the will of your *bishop*, as also ye do. For your famous presbytery (worthy of God,) is fitted exactly to the bishop as the strings are to the harp." It is to be observed again, that the use of the word "*bishop*" proves nothing. Neither does that *superiority* of the bishop, indicated by the exhortation to "run together, according to his will," prove any thing, for it is barely coincident with all those directions given to christians in the New Testament, which inculcate subordination and obedience to those who have authority in the church,—see 1 Tim. v: 17,—“Let the elders (presbyters) that *rule well* be counted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in the word and doctrine.” That is, especially let double honor, the honor of reverence and subjection, be shown to those elders to whom is especially committed the instruction and spiritual oversight of the church.

What Ignatius intended by saying that the “presbytery is fitted exactly to the bishop as the strings are to the harp,” I am not able with certainty to say. I suppose that by the presbytery he meant the college or board of elders in any church, and that he designed to magnify the office of the presiding elder or *pastor*, by pointing out its beautiful adaptation, in connection with the entire eldership, to all the purposes of church government. The well-understood constitution of our Presbyterian churches may serve as an illustration. If any thing more can be fairly made of it, let Dr. Carmichael, or any of his brethren show what more.

EPISTLE TO POLYCARP, Sec. 6.—“Hearken unto the bishop, that God also may hearken unto you. My soul be security for them that submit to their bishop, with their presbyters and deacons; and may my portion be together with theirs in God.”

The first sentence here may be explained by what Christ said to his disciples, Matt. x: 40,—“He that receiveth you, receiveth me, and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me.” The bishop is the pastor of the church, the minister of Christ, God’s ambassador to men, and to hearken to him is certainly the way to obtain the divine favor. The language of Ignatius here is eminently Presbyterian. In each of our churches, when the complement of office-bearers is perfect, there is first a *bishop* or pastor, who is also an elder; then the *presbyters* or elders, whose duty it is to assist the pastor in the spiritual oversight of the church, and in the administration of discipline; and finally, the *deacons*, who serve tables, and look after the poor. The arrangement in an Episcopal church is very different, and such as does not at all agree with what Ignatius says. An Episcopal church has a *bishop*, who commonly resides at a distance, rarely visiting it, and who, when he does visit it, is hardly brought in any way into contact with the people, so that he can scarcely be said to bear rule over them. The *clergy* are ruled by the bishop, but if there is any ruling in the churches themselves, over the people who compose them, I do not well see how it is done by the bishop. They ordinarily know very little about him, so that his government, in fact, is more nominal than real. Then they almost *never* have either presbyters or deacons. They have a single *presbyter*, or a *single* deacon. If it is a presbyter, then they have no deacon. If it is a deacon, then they have no presbyter. Now suppose that some great saint were to write an epistle to my brother Schuyler’s church, in the city of Buffalo, and in the course of his earnest exhortation should say,—“My soul be security for them that submit to their bishop with their presbyters and deacons.” The people might say,—“We are quite willing to submit to the bishop in all things that are right and proper, though we do not see him oftener than once a year, and then only for a little time in church, on Sunday; but as for presbyters, we have but *one*, and we have *no deacons at all*.

We are above deacons, having a *priest* in full orders." If this saint's letter were addressed to all the Episcopalians in Buffalo, the comment upon it might be much the same, for I believe there is not an Episcopal deacon in the city—I do not know of any. Such a letter, addressed to any one, or to all of our Presbyterian churches, would find a state of things, on the contrary, exactly corresponding to its terms.

Both of these quotations, therefore, from undoubted epistles of Ignatius, I claim as direct and clear testimony in our favor, and against our opponents, nor will any disinterested person deny that they are so.

Our adversaries seem to think that wherever three grades of officers in the church are mentioned, it is proof positive of three grades in the ministry; and although they are forced to own, that the term bishop, in the New Testament, means nothing but presbyter, yet, the very instant they find the word occurring in the writings of men, who flourished even before the last of the New Testament writers was dead, they insist upon attaching to it, without the shadow of a reason, a meaning to suit their own party views; and that too, in spite of the clearest evidence shown by us, that the fathers used the terms bishop and presbyter convertibly, precisely as the apostles themselves did.

In regard to the other testimonies taken from the pretended epistles of Ignatius to the Magnesians, Trallians, Philadelphians, and Smyrnæans, I have only to ask, that the language in which they are expressed, may be compared with the language used by the New Testament writers, in speaking on similar subjects; and if any reasonable mind is not satisfied, either that Ignatius was crazed, or that these epistles are forgeries, or at least that the passages quoted are interpolations, then I shall be altogether disappointed. Look, for example, in the quotation from the epistle to the *Trallians*,—"Let all reverence the deacons as Jesus Christ, and the bishops as the Father, and the presbyters as the sanhedrim of God, and college of the

apostles." Did the disciple of the meek and lovely John, whose highest ambition was to be known as "the elder," and to be permitted to counsel and beseech men as *one of them*, write such *stuff* as this? Will any one believe it? What would the members of Mr. Schuyler's church think of their rector, if he should exhort them in such words as those which are here attributed to good old Ignatius? Look also in section sixth, of the epistle to the Magnesians,—“I exhort you, that ye study to do all things in a divine concord, your *bishops presiding in the place of God*; your presbyters, in the place of the council of the apostles; and your deacons, most dear to me, being entrusted with the ministry of Jesus Christ,” &c. Not to dwell upon the important fact, that the writer of this epistle, whoever he was, knew nothing of the modern theory of Episcopalianism, which puts the *bishops*, and not the *presbyters*, in the place of the council of the apostles, just let it be considered, whether the nonsense, if what seems rather blasphemous may be so described, of the “bishops presiding in the place of God,” does seem less attributable to so good a man, as we all suppose Ignatius to have been, than to “that man of sin,” who, it was said by Paul, 2 Thess. ii: 3, 4, should be quickly “revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshiped; so that he as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God!”

I might quote passage after passage, from these four epistles, which are at least of doubtful authority, and which I fully believe to be spurious, that would serve quite as strongly as those which I have noticed, to show, either that Ignatius did not write them, or that the poor old man was in no state of mind to write on any subject,—a fitter candidate for a cell in a mad-house, than for the place of teacher to the churches. Our Episcopal friends should consider it beneath them to rely for evidence on writings of such a character. If they *will* do so, however, it is a poor reliance, which can give them no possible advantage.

I must close this article with a quotation from the glorious John Milton. I quote from Griswold's Philadelphia edition of Milton's prose works, from the dissertation on prelatical episcopacy, vol. 1, page 38. — "Now come the epistles of Ignatius to show us, first, — that Onesimus was bishop of Ephesus; next, to assert the difference of bishop and presbyters; wherein I wonder that men, teachers of the Protestant religion, make no more difficulty of imposing on our belief a supposititious offspring of some dozen epistles, whereof five are rejected as spurious, containing in them heresies and trifles; which can not agree in chronology with Ignatius, entitling him archbishop of Antioch Theopolis, which name of Theopolis that city had not till Justinian's time, long after, as Cedrenus mentions; which argues both the barbarous time, and the unskillful fraud of him that foisted this epistle on Ignatius. In the epistle to those of Tarsus, he condemns them for ministers of Satan that say, 'Christ is God above all.' To the Philippians, them that kept their Easter as the Asian churches, as Polycarpus did, and them that fasted upon Saturday or Sunday, except one, he counts as those that had slain the Lord. To those of Antioch, he salutes the sub-deacons, chanters, porters, and exorcists, as if these had been orders of the church in his time; those other epistles less questioned, are yet so interlarded with corruptions, as may justly endue us with a wholesome suspicion of the rest. As to the Trallians, he writes, that 'a bishop hath power over all, beyond all government and authority whatsoever.' Surely then, no pope can desire more than Ignatius attributes to every bishop; but what will become then of the archbishops and primates, if every bishop in Ignatius' judgment be as supreme as a pope? To the Ephesians, near the very place from whence they fetch their proof of episcopacy, there stands a line that casts an ill hue upon all the epistle, — 'Let no man err,' saith he, 'unless a man be within the rays or enclosure of the altar, he is deprived of the bread of life.' I say not but this may be stretched to a figurative construction; but yet, it has an ill

look, especially being followed beneath with the mention of I know not what sacrifices. In the other epistle to Smyrna, wherein is written that, 'They should follow their bishop as Christ did his Father, and the presbytery as the apostles;' not to speak of the insulse and ill-laid comparison, this cited place lies on the very brim of a noted corruption, which, had they that quote this passage, ventured to let us read, all men would have readily seen what grain the testimony had been of, where it is said, 'That it is not lawful without a bishop to baptize, nor to offer, nor to do sacrifice.' What can our church make of these phrases, but scandalous? And but a little farther, he plainly falls to contradict the spirit of God in Solomon, judged by the words themselves: 'My son,' saith he, 'honor God and the king; but I say, honor God, and the bishop as high-priest, bearing the image of God according to his ruling, and of Christ according to his priesting; and after him, honor the king.' Excellent Ignatius! Can ye blame the prelates for making much of this epistle? Certainly, if this epistle can serve you to set a bishop above a presbyter, it may serve you next to set him above a king. These, and other like places in abundance, through all those short epistles, must either be adulterate, or else Ignatius was not Ignatius, nor a martyr, but most adulterate and corrupt himself. - In the midst, therefore, of so many forgeries, where shall we fix, to dare say, this is Ignatius? As for his style, who knows it, so disfigured and interrupted as it is? Except they think, that where they meet with any thing sound and orthodoxal, there they find Ignatius; and then they believe him, not for his own authority, but for a truth's sake, which they derive from elsewhere. To what end, then, should they cite him as authentic for episcopacy, when they can not know what is authentic in him, but by the judgment which they brought with them, and not by any judgment which they might safely learn from him? How can they bring satisfaction from such an author, to whose very essence, the reader must be fain to contribute his own understanding? Had God ever

intended that we should have sought any part of useful instruction from Ignatius, doubtless he would not have so ill provided for our knowledge, as to send him to our hands in this broken and disjointed plight; and if he intended no such thing, we do injuriously in thinking to taste better the pure evangelical manna, by seasoning our mouths with the tainted scraps and fragments of an unknown table, and searching among the verminous and polluted rags, dropped overworn from the toiling shoulders of time, with these deformedly to guilt and interlace the entire, the spotless, and undecaying robe of truth, the daughter, not of time but of heaven, only bred up here below in christian hearts, between two grave and holy nurses, the doctrine and the discipline of the gospel."

JOHN CALVIN'S VIEWS OF EPISCOPACY.

The portion of our author's appendix relating to this subject, borrowed from *Hobart's Apology*, seems to have been intended as retaliatory for my unkind notice of the well-authenticated fact, that the pious reformers of England were dissatisfied with their own reformation, and would gladly have gone the whole length of their Presbyterian brethren on the continent. To make things even between us, on this score, the shade of bishop Hobart is evoked, to affirm that John Calvin was equally dissatisfied with the reformation on the continent, and would gladly have arrested it at the same point at which it was arrested in England. I can not but wonder, that Mr. Schuyler should not have sought the nobler and more serviceable revenge of proving that my representation in regard to the English reformers was incorrect. This he has not even attempted to do. A generous friend, indeed, who has kindly stepped in to his assistance, has made a feeble reply,—see his book, page 225,—to the effect that we are not to take the opinions of a few individuals of that time, as expressing the sense of the English

church. It seems to me, that on a point of such grand importance for English episcopacy, there should have been a careful vindication. I refer again to Mr. Macaulay's statement, that the pious and leading reformers of England *were not satisfied; and that the English church was the fruit of a compromise between the true friends of reform and the government*, as setting forth a fact susceptible of the clearest demonstration. I say, and what I say can be proved — I believe every intelligent Episcopalian knows it can be proved — that the reformation in England did not stop where it did, in consequence of a conviction in any man's mind, that it had already restored the church to its true scriptural and primitive order, but because, for political and state reasons, wholly disconnected with religion, the government would not permit it to proceed farther. To exhibit the full proof on this subject, would demand greater space than can, at present, be afforded to it. It is on hand, however, and will be furnished when a suitable occasion shall require it. I shall recur to the subject again in this volume. At present, I must attend to bishop Hobart, and I am concerned to say, spoil Mr. Schuyler's revenge; for what the bishop asserts concerning John Calvin, is *not true*.

If John Calvin favored episcopacy, and desired to introduce it into the reformed churches on the continent, why have we not one word given to us in proof, from his own voluminous published writings? Why are we to be told what Toplady says, and what Toplady says that Strype says, and what Toplady says that Strype says that archbishop Abbot says, according to something discovered among archbishop Usher's manuscripts, after both these archbishops were dead? Why, on so grave a subject as this, are we to be served with the mere gossip of discontented churchmen, who would have given the world for the testimony of such a name as Calvin's in favor of their system, instead of having produced to us the veritable words of John Calvin himself? I commend this passage from bishop Hobart, which Mr. Schuyler endorses by quoting, as a very fair

specimen of that kind of reasoning for which this bishop was remarkable, and which gained for him the glory of a controversial martyrdom at the hands of John Mason. Did Mr. S. read it? I am sure he did not examine its statements, or even he must have discovered their utter worthlessness.

I have asked, Why are we not favored with a single testimony from Calvin's own writings, on this point, of his partiality for the Episcopal form of church order? and every one must admit that the demand is reasonable. Few men that ever lived have written and published so much, or upon so great a variety of subjects. Indeed, almost every thing that he ever did write, is in print, and easily accessible; and I affirm that it is *fair* to say, that what can not be proved from his published works, on a point like this, can not be proved at all, and ought not to be asserted; more especially when, as in the present instance, the current testimony of his published works is exactly contrary to it. Next to the reformation of doctrine, the great business of Calvin's life was the reformation of church order, and his views on this latter subject are expressed freely and fully. Shall we set aside this free and full expression of his opinions, and, in order to determine what he really thought, go fishing with a long line of dead men's recollections in archbishop Usher's well, for scraps and bits of old letters?

I do not overlook the pretended quotation from Calvin's book "on the necessity of reforming the church." No indeed. I am not likely to overlook so choice a specimen of jesuitical craft as that. I invite particular attention to it.

Bishop Hobart wrote as follows, and Mr. S., never dreaming that a bishop could write nonsense, not to use a harder word, gives it to us as he finds it:

"I can not avoid calling your attention to the following corroborating evidence that Calvin and the reformed divines *approved of the episcopacy of the church of England, and would have adopted it, if circumstances had favored such a measure.* The diligent, learned, and accurate historian, Strype,

furnishes this evidence. It may be proper to premise that the following quotations from this historian have been adduced as *decisive testimony of the preference of Calvin and other reformed divines, to the English episcopacy*, by Rev. Augustus Toplady. * * * * Toplady, let it be remembered, was a rigid Calvinist, a warm admirer and panegyrist of Calvin, and his works rank high in the estimation of Calvinists. Strype and Toplady both adduce the passage in which Calvin denounces an anathema against all who should reject a primitive hierarchy, as a proof of his approbation of *the episcopacy of the church of England*. Toplady observes, ‘that great reformer (Calvin) wished for the introduction of *protestant episcopacy* into the *reformed churches abroad*,’ and then he quotes the following passage from Strype — ‘How Calvin stood affected in the said point of episcopacy, and how *readily and gladly he and other heads of the reformed churches would have received it*, is evident enough from his writings and epistles.’ ”

I have been at the pains to transcribe all this medley of words, to show the reader how pompously the proof is ushered in. Surely, after all this parade of names and circumstances, we might expect something of real consequence, something very clear and specific to be adduced. What is it? What is the evidence from John Calvin himself, which proves that he *ardently desired to introduce the episcopacy of England into the reformed churches on the continent*? Bishop Hobart proceeds, quoting still from Toplady’s quotation of Strype:

“‘In his book (Calvin’s) of the necessity of reforming the church, he hath these words: ‘*Talem nobis hierarchiam exhibeant*,’ &c.— *Let them give us such an hierarchy*, &c. Toplady agrees with Strype in considering the above passage as a proof that Calvin’s opinion was favorable to the English episcopacy.’ ”

And it seems that bishop Hobart agrees with Strype, and Mr. Schuyler agrees with Strype. What delightful unanimity

of sentiment is here exhibited! All agree with Strype, that when John Calvin said —“*Talem nobis hierarchiam exhibeant,*” &c. he meant —“*Let them give us such a hierarchy*” — as they have in the church of England, and we will consider ourselves the most favored and fortunate of men! The reader could suppose nothing else than that such, or such like, would of course be the onward rendering of Calvin’s interrupted sentence. What will he think, when I tell him that Calvin, in that connection, is thinking as little of the church of England as he is of a church in the moon? Let me explain the manner in which Calvin happens to use the words referred to, and show precisely the connection in which they stand. His book on “The Necessity of Reforming the Church,” was addressed to the emperor Charles Fifth, and the imperial diet at Spire, A. D. 1544. It is mainly a vindication of the reformed churches, and in this way an argument for the reformation of the church generally throughout the empire. This diet at Spire had been called for the special purpose of taking into consideration the state of the church, and devising means for its improvement. Calvin, in the first place, goes largely into a statement of those deep and dreadful corruptions in the church which had prompted the reformers to their course. He says in his opening, “I wish to show how just and necessary the causes were which forced us to the changes for which we are blamed.” Next, he defends what had been done, and shows that “the remedies employed were just and salutary.” Under this head he refers particularly, among other things, to their having adopted the principle of *presbytery*, in opposition to that of *hierarchy*, or *prelatical episcopacy*, and at great length vindicates this change. “In the government of the church,” he says, “we do not differ from others in any thing for which we can not give a sufficient reason.” He then proceeds to give reasons strong and cogent, fairly scouting at the assumed divine right of the Episcopal order, and the absurd dogma of the apostolical succession. “They quarrel with us,” he says, “first, concerning

the *right and power*, and secondly, concerning the *form* of ordination. They quote ancient canons which give the superintendence of this matter to the bishops and clergy. They alledge a *constant succession*, by which this right has been handed down to *them*, even from the apostles themselves. They deny that it can be lawfully transferred elsewhere. I wish they had by their merit, retained a title to this boasted possession. But if we consider, first, the order in which for several ages bishops have been advanced to this dignity; next, the manner in which they conduct themselves in it; and lastly, the kind of persons whom they are accustomed to ordain, and to whom they commit the government of the churches, we shall see that this succession, on which they pride themselves, was long ago interrupted." After alluding to some methods adopted to prevent men from "forcing an entrance by stealth into the episcopal office, or insinuating themselves by indirect artifices," he adds—"These things, I here only mention in passing, because they afford an easy means of judging how much importance is due to *this smoke of succession*, with which our bishops endeavor to blind us. They maintain that Christ left as a heritage to the apostles the sole right of appointing over churches whomsoever they pleased, and they complain that we, in exercising the ministry without their authority, have with sacrilegious temerity invaded their office." In addition to the utter want of authority for the hierarchical orders, he goes on to show how dreadfully abandoned and corrupt these orders in the church of Rome had become; how the bishops had become nothing more than secular officers, had abandoned wholly their work as pastors, and had come to be mere scramblers after power, and place, and emoluments. In this connection occurs the remarkable passage on which Toplady, and Strype, and Hobart, and last of all *Mr. Schuyler*, agree, as proving that Calvin *approved of the episcopacy of the church of England, and earnestly desired to introduce it into the reformed churches on the continent!* Calvin says, pursuing his splendid appeal

to the emperor and the diet — not, “Let them *give* us,” a singular rendering for “*exhibeant*” — “Let them *show*, or *produce* to us such a hierarchy, (intimating that the challenge was a desperate one) in which the bishops are distinguished, but not for refusing to be subject to Christ, in which they depend upon him as the only head, and act solely with reference to him, in which they cultivate brotherly fellowship with each other, bound together by no other tie than his truth; then indeed I will confess that there is no anathema too strong for those who do not regard them with reverence, and yield them the fullest obedience. But is there any thing like this in that false mask of hierarchy on which they plume themselves?” — Now where is the allusion to the episcopacy of the church of England; or what proof does the passage afford, that Calvin desired to introduce such an episcopacy into the reformed churches on the continent? What does he say, except that had the Roman hierarchy been such an one as he described, he would not have deemed himself justifiable in rejecting it? Though he regarded it as not the best form of church government, as an unfortunate deviation from the simple order presented in the New Testament, yet seeing that it was established in the church, he would not have rebelled against it, if it had not been corrupt; and he would have counted worthy of the severest anathema those who did rebel, and thus introduce divisions and strife for the sake of a mere unessential point of outward order. Calvin said in this passage, just what I, or any other, the most strenuous Presbyterian, might have said in the same circumstances. We do not think of defending the violence of the reformation on the ground alone of the hierarchism of the Romish church, but on the ground of the abominable corruptions of that church in doctrine and morals, for which indeed its hierarchism is in no small degree responsible. If the Romish church, hierarchical as it was, had been pure in christian doctrine and practice, there is no difference of opinion among us, that it would have been both foolish and wicked to disturb and

rend it for a reform of its outward order merely — and that those who should have done so, would have merited the severest *anathema*. Still, we say, that when, on other grounds, reform became indispensably necessary, when the very maintenance of religion itself depended upon it, it was then wise and proper, and so Calvin showed by his acts that he also judged, to lay the axe at the root of the tree, and to reform away, not alone the deadly depravities of the hierarchical church, but the hierarchy itself, and make the church what Christ and his apostles left it. The work of cleansing the augean stables being begun, it was well to make it thorough.

If any desire to see other evidence that Calvin *could* not have desired to introduce such an episcopacy as that of the church of England into the reformed churches on the continent, they may consult for themselves the following references: In his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," book 4, ch. iii,—ch. iv,—ch. v: sec. 15; also his commentary on Philip i: 1; 1 Tim. v: 17; Tit. i: 5; 1 Pet. v: 1, and Acts xx: 28. The opinions expressed in these places were written at different periods of his life; some of them when he was a young man, and some of them not long before his death. I forbear, for the lack of room, from making these quotations at large, for to do justice to the subject, some of them would be very long. Whoever will take the trouble to consult them, will see more perfectly the justice of my remark, that Calvin *could* not have had the desire that is ascribed to him. But evidence enough is before the reader. If his own words, in what I have quoted from his book on the necessity of reforming the church, will weigh any thing against the testimony of Toplady and Strype, he *did not believe in such an episcopacy as that of the church of England*. He had neither faith in it, nor respect for it. Did he believe in that sort of episcopacy which rests upon the doctrine of apostolical succession in an order of bishops, distinguished as such, from presbyters? Will any man have the hardihood and reckless effrontry to say that he did, after reading the

passages which I have quoted from him? Yet he would gladly have introduced it, and was only prevented by circumstances! What circumstances prevented him? For a long time, as all authorities agree, his influence was such, especially in Switzerland, among the reformed, that his will was law. This his enemies are very anxious to have understood, when they desire to fix upon him the reproach and shame of burning poor crazy Servetus. Why then, if he desired to introduce episcopacy, did he not introduce it? What could have hindered him, if he had brought all his indomitable energy and overwhelming influence to bear on such an object?

Says bishop Hobart, proceeding to another point,—“Toplady asserts that ‘Calvin made a serious motion of uniting Protestants together;’ and in proof of his assertion, quotes again from Strype,—‘They (the foreign Protestants) took such great joy and satisfaction in this good king (Edward Sixth) and his establishment of religion, that Bullinger and Calvin, and others, in a letter to him, offered to make him their defender, *and to have bishops in their churches, as there were in England;* with a tender of their service to assist and unite together.’”

The foreign Protestants did indeed take great joy and satisfaction in this good king; for, knowing his character, his earnest piety, and his desire for a thorough work of reform in the church, and especially knowing the influence over him of such men as Hooper, Cranmer, Ponet and others, who all inclined strongly to Presbyterianism, they had the most sanguine expectations that the church in England would be placed, under his direction, upon a true scriptural foundation. Indeed, although it can not be said that there was any real establishment of religion in Edward Sixth’s time, but rather that things were rapidly approaching to an established state, yet already the strong features of the hierarchical system were beginning to disappear. “In fact,” says McCrie, in his *Life of Knox*, referring for authority to Strype’s *Memorials of the Reformation*, vol. 2, pp. 144, 145,—“In fact the title of *bishop* was very generally

disused in common speech during the reign of Edward Sixth, and that of *superintendent* substituted in its place. And this change of style was vindicated by Ponet, bishop of Winchester, in an answer which he published to a popish writer." An entire volume of further testimony on this point, from all the ecclesiastical historians of this period, including bishop Burnet, and even *Strype* himself, might easily be furnished if it were necessary.

"Bullinger and Calvin, and others," in such a state of things, may have written such a letter as is ascribed to them; but does it prove that they were *hierarchists* in principle, or that they would ever have consented to receive such bishops as were imposed upon the English church in the reigns immediately succeeding the unhappy death, for England, of its beloved Edward? Like all Presbyterians, then and since, "Bullinger and Calvin, and others" were anxious for a consolidation of the strength of Protestantism. They were anxious to see all true christians united in a loving brotherhood; and being willing for the sake of this, to make compromises and concessions in things unessential, and thinking that they saw in the happy auspices of the reign of Edward, the way becoming plain for consummating so cherished and dear an object, they may have written the letter referred to.

What then? Were they prelatists? Would they have consented to receive the system of prelacy into their churches? If bishop Hobart did not know the contrary, I am greatly mistaken. If Mr. Schuyler does not know the contrary, I advise him to study the history of this subject, just a *little*, before he publishes another book.

Calvin did not object strongly to that kind of episcopacy which, in Edward Sixth's time, was on the eve of being established in England, which exists now in the Lutheran churches of Europe, and of which we have a sample in the Methodist church in this country. Although he certainly preferred, for the churches with which he was immediately connected, to

have no form of episcopacy whatever, except the simple form presented in the New Testament, that of *pastors* having the oversight of single congregations, yet he did, in certain cases, when there were peculiar reasons for it, recommend that men should be appointed by their brethren to a general and permanent superintendence of affairs. I have now before me, a letter written by him, December 9, 1544, to the king of Poland, in which he proposes something of the kind to be adopted in that country. But let the place be shown, in any of his writings, where he recommended or even spoke approvingly of such an episcopacy as that which now exists in England. It can not be done. This great man and true reformer had a supreme loathing for such episcopacy. He knew well, how, and where, and when, it originated, for what ends it had been maintained, and what had been its fruits, and he detested it as heartily as I do. John Calvin an advocate of the apostolical-succession episcopacy, and mourning because his beloved Genevan churches could not enjoy the blessings of it! It is too ridiculous.

Bishop Hobart says again,—“Toplady adduces from Strype ‘another very remarkable proof, both of CALVIN’s *regard for episcopacy* and of the manner in which a seeming difference arose between the plan of ecclesiastical government adopted by that reformer, and the plan of episcopal government adopted by the church of England.’ Toplady quotes ‘a curious paper in archbishop Abbot’s own hand-writing, found among archbishop Usher’s manuscripts, and published by Strype,’ and then subjoins — ‘so wrote that most respectable prelate, archbishop Abbot, whose evidence may be thus summed up : Calvin’s last letter concerning episcopacy, sent to the ruling clergy of England in the reign of Edward Sixth, was craftily intercepted by Bonner and Gardiner, who (to crush Calvin’s scheme for *episcopizing the foreign protestant churches*,) forged a surly, snappish answer to Calvin, in the names of the divines to whom it was addressed, but whose hands it had never reached. Calvin being disgusted at the rudeness with which he supposed

his overture had been received, dropt all thoughts of making any further advances on the subject.' And thus, had not two Popish extinguishers put out the design, Calvin *had admitted the discipline of the church of England*, with as much zeal and heartiness, as the church of England actually adopted Calvin's doctrine."

The Arminianism of bishop Hobart is considerably shocked by Toplady's concluding remark in this passage, that "the church of England adopted Calvin's doctrine," and he strongly denies it; but he is quite delighted with what goes before, when, in fact, that concluding remark is the only truth in the entire extract. In the first place, Calvin wrote no letter to the ruling clergy of England in Edward Sixth's time, concerning *episcopacy*, if by episcopacy is understood that peculiar system of church government to which Toplady and Hobart were so much attached. I have shown already that Calvin never *could* have desired to have any fellowship with such a system. It was altogether a different kind of episcopacy, if any at all, that the ruling clergy of England, in Edward Sixth's time, were proposing for themselves. A mere system of superintendency, involving no essential contrariety to our own Presbyterianism. In the second place, the motive ascribed to Bonner and Gardiner, for their crafty interception of Calvin's letter and forged reply to it, is evidently not the real one. Instead of aiming "*to crush Calvin's scheme for episcopizing the foreign protestant churches*," it is much more reasonable to suppose that what they feared, and wished to thwart, was a scheme of the leading clergy of England for *presbyterianizing the churches at home*. It is easy enough to understand why Bonner and Gardiner should be anxious to arrest the reformatory movements in England, but very difficult to understand why they should be so eager to prevent the reformed churches on the continent from retrograding. Bonner and Gardiner were straining every nerve, and not leaving any artifices unemployed, to hold things in the English church where they were, at least,

or, if possible, to urge them back farther from Protestantism. It is easy enough, therefore, to see how they would naturally feel a lively jealousy of the intimacy that was every day increasing between the ruling clergy of England and such men as Calvin, and why they should wish to break it off. And now, to confirm the view of this matter which I have expressed, let me repeat former testimonies, and add others in regard to the real state of sentiment and feeling among the English reformers, in the times of which we are speaking. We shall then be better able to judge, whether *they* were colleaguings with Calvin to episcopize the continent, or he with them to unepiscopize England.

These testimonies have been so well collated by M'Crie, in his life of John Knox, that I shall make no apology for appropriating the entire note in which he presents them. It may be found at page 407, and onward, of the Philadelphia edition, and is as follows:

SENTIMENTS OF ENGLISH REFORMERS,

RESPECTING THE GOVERNMENT AND WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH.

"I shall endeavor to compress the body of evidence which can be produced for the conformity between the private sentiments of the English reformers respecting worship and church government, and those of Knox, along with the reformers of Switzerland and Geneva. Hooper, in a letter dated Feb. 8, 1550, informs Bullinger that 'the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Rochester, Ely, St. David's, Lincoln, and Bath, were sincerely bent on advancing the purity of doctrine, agreeing IN ALL THINGS with the Helvetic churches.'—Burnet, iii, 201. Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, in a letter to Gualter, Feb. 4, 1573, fervently exclaims, 'O! would to God, would to God, once at last, all the English people would in good earnest propound to themselves to follow the Church of Zurich as the most absolute pattern.'—Strype's Annals, ii, 286, 342.

“Cranmer expressed his opinion formally in writing, that ‘the bishops and priests were at one time one, and were no two things, but both ONE OFFICE in the beginning of Christ’s religion.’ ‘The bishop of St. David’s, my lord elect of Westminster, Dr. Cox, Dr. Redman, say that at the beginning they were all ONE.’—Collier, ii, Records, No. 49; Burnet, i, Append. pp. 223–225. Thirteen bishops, with a great number of other ecclesiastics, subscribed this proposition, ‘that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops.’—Burnet, *ut supra*, p. 324. Cranmer says, ‘In the New Testament, he that is appointed a bishop or a priest, needeth not consecration, by the scripture, for election or appointment thereto is sufficient.’ And of the same judgment was the bishop of St. David’s.—*Ibid.* 228, 230. Latimer and Hooper maintained the identity of bishops and presbyters, by divine institution.—Voetii. Polit. Eccles. tom ii, p. 387. This was also the opinion of Pilkington, bishop of Durham.—*Treatise on the burning of St. Paul’s, apud Cald. Altare Damascenum*, p. 204. Bishop Jewel assents to it in his Answer to Harding, page 121. And on the accession of Elizabeth, he expressed his hope, that ‘the bishops would become pastors, laborers, and watchmen, and that the great riches of bishoprics would be diminished and reduced to mediocrity, that, being delivered from regal and courtly pomp, they might take care of the flock of Christ.’—Burnet, iii, 288. In the same year, Dr. Aylmer addressed the right reverend bench in these terms: ‘Come off, you bishops, away with your superfluities, yield up your thousands, be content with hundreds, as they be in other reformed churches, where there be as great learned men as you are. Let your portion be priest-like and not princelike. Let the queen have the rest of your temporalities and other lands to maintain these warres which you procured, and your mistresse left her; and with the reste build and found scholes thorow out the realme: that every

parishe church may have his preacher, every city his superintendent, to live honestly and not pompously; which will never be onles your landes be dispersed and bestowed upon many, which now feedeth and fatteth but one. I would our countryman Wiclief's boke which he wrote, *De Ecclesia*, were in print, and there should you see that your wrinches and cavillations be nothing worthie. It was my chaunce to happen of it in ones hand that brought it out of Bohemia.'—An Harbrowe for Faithful and Trew Subjects, sig. O, 4. Cranmer expressed himself in a similar strain respecting the 'glorious titles, styles, and pomps,' which were come into the church through the working of the spirit of Diotrophes, and professed his readiness to lay them aside. Strype's Cranmer, Append. p. 20.—Burnet, iii, 105.—Append. p. 88. In fact, the title of *bishop* was very generally disused in common speech during the reign of Edward Sixth, and that of *superintendent* substituted in its place. And this change of style was vindicated by Ponet, bishop of Winchester, in an answer which he published to a Popish writer.—Strype's Memorials of the Reformation, ii, 444, 445.

"It was proposed by Cranmer to erect courts similar to the kirk-sessions and provincial synods afterward introduced into the Scottish church.—Burnet, iii, 214.—Reformatio Leg. Eccles. cap. 8, 10. He ardently wished the suppression of prebendaries, 'an estate,' he said, 'which St. Paule, reckoning up the degrees and estates allowed in his time, could not find in the Church of Christ.'—Burnet, iii, Append. pp. 157, 158. All the Protestant bishops and divines in the reign of Edward Sixth were anxious for the introduction of ecclesiastical discipline. Dr. Cox (Oct. 5, 1552) complains bitterly of the opposition of the courtiers to this measure, and says, that, if it was not adopted, 'the kingdom of God would be taken away from them.'—Latimer's Sermons, fol. cix, b. Lond. 1570. Strype's Memor. of the Reformation, ii, 366.—Repository of Orig. p. 150.

“Cranmer and his colleagues were far from being satisfied with the purity of the last common prayer book of Edward; and the primate had drawn up one which is said to have been ‘an hundred times more perfect.’—*Troubles at Franckfort*, p. 50. He and Ridley intended to procure an act for abolishing the sacerdotal habits; ‘for they only defended their lawfulness, but not their fitness.’—*Burnet’s Letters respecting Switzerland, &c.*, p. 52.—*Rotterdam*, 1686. When Grindal was appointed to the bishopric of London, he ‘remained under some scruples of conscience about some things, especially the habits and certain ceremonies required to be used of such as were bishops. For the reformed in these times,’ says Strype, ‘generally went upon the ground, that, in order to the complete freeing of the church of Christ from the errors and corruptions of Rome, every usage and custom practised by that apostate and idolatrous church should be abolished,—and that the service of God should be most simple, stript of all that show, pomp, and appearance, that had been customarily used before, esteeming all that to be no better than superstitious and anti-christian’—*Life of Grindal*, p. 28. Horn and others had the same views and scruples. ‘By the letters,’ says bishop Burnet, ‘of which I read the originals, [in the archives of Zurich,] it appears, that the bishops preserved the habits rather in compliance with the queen’s inclinations, than out of any liking they had to them; so far were they from liking, that they plainly expressed their dislike of them.’—*Burnet’s Letters*, ut supra, p. 51. Before they accepted the office, they endeavored to obtain the abrogation of the ceremonies; and when the act enjoining them passed, they were induced to comply chiefly by their fears that Papists or Lutherans would be put into their places.—*Strype’s Annals*, i, 175.—*Burnet*, ii, 376, and his *Sermon on Psalm cxlv. 15*, preached before the House of Commons, Jan. 1688. Cox writes to Bullinger, 5th May, 1551, ‘I think all things in the church ought to be pure and simple, removed at the greatest distance from the pomps and

elements of the world. But in this our church what can I do in so low a station?—Strype's Memor. of the Reform. ii, 305. Burnet, iii, 202. Jewel, in a letter to Martyr, Nov. 5, 1559, calls the clerical habits 'a stage-dress,' (*vestis scenica*,) to which those alone were attached, who 'had nothing else to recommend them to the people, but a comical dress,'—'*stipites sine ingenio, sine doctrina, sine moribus, veste saltem comica volebant populo commendari.*' He engages that no exertions of his should be wanting to banish utterly these *ridiculous trifles*, 'ludicris ineptiis,' and *relics of the Amorites*, as his correspondent (he says) had well designed them. And, at a period still later, (Feb. 8, 1566,) he writes to Bullinger, that 'he wished that the very slightest footsteps of popery might be removed out of the church and minds of men; but the queen would at that time suffer no change in religion.'—Burnet, iii, Append. p. 291, ii Append. p. 351, Strype's Annals, i, 174. Grindal and Horn wrote to Zurich, that they did not approve of, but merely suffered, kneeling in the eucharist, and signing with the cross in baptism, with some other ceremonies, hoping that they would speedily obtain their abrogation.—Burnet, ii, 310, 314. As to Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, Pilkington of Durham, and Sands of Worcester, the non-conformists bear testimony, that these prelates discovered the greatest zeal in endeavoring to procure their abrogation.—Ibid. iii, 316. The most respectable of the clergy in the lower house were of the same sentiments with the bishops on this subject. In the year 1562, the abrogation of the most offensive ceremonies was, after long reasoning, put to the vote in the convocation, and carried by a majority of those present; but, when the proxies were included, there was found a majority of ONE for retaining them. The arguments used by archbishop Parker's chaplains to prevail upon the house to agree to this, derived their chief force from their being understood to be the sentiments of the queen.—Burnet, ii, Append. pp. 319, 320. Strype's Annals, i, 298–300.

From these facts (and a collection much more ample could easily be made) the reader will see who were the first puritans, and how very different the sentiments of the English reformers were from those of their successors. Those good men who had the direction of ecclesiastical affairs in the reign of Edward Sixth, thought it most prudent to proceed gradually and slowly, in removing the abuses, and correcting the evils, which had overspread the church; and to indulge the people for a season with those external forms to which they had been habituated, that they might draw them more easily from their superstitious notions and practices, and in due time perfect the reformation to the satisfaction of all. The plan was plausible; but its issue was very different from what was intended by those who proposed it. Nor was this unforeseen by persons who wished well to the church of England. After the bishops had resolved to rest satisfied with the establishment which they obtained, and felt themselves disturbed by the complaints of the Puritans, (as they were afterward called,) they endeavored to engage the foreign divines on their side; and having, by partial representations, and through the respect entertained for the government of England, obtained letters from them somewhat favorable to their views, they employed these to bear down such as pleaded for a more pure reformation. Whitgift made great use of this weapon in his controversy with Cartwright. Bishop Parkhurst wrote to Gualter, a celebrated Swiss divine, cautioning him on this head, adding, that he had refused to communicate some of Gualter's letters to Whitgift; because, 'if any thing made for the ceremonies, he presently clapped it into his book and printed it.'—*Strype's Annals*, ii, 286, 287. But these divines had formerly delivered their unbiased judgment, disapproving of such temporizing measures. Cranmer having signified to the Genevese reformer, that he 'could do nothing more profitable to the church, than to write often to the king,' Calvin wrote a letter to the archbishop in 1551, in which he lamented the procrastination used,

and expressed his fears, that ‘a long winter would succeed to so many harvests spent in deliberation.’—Epist. p. 62; Oper. tom. ix, Strype’s Cranmer, p. 413. Peter Martyr, in June, 1550, gave it as his opinion, that ‘the innumerable corruptions, infinite abuses, and immense superstition, could be reformed only by a simple recurrence to the pure fountain, and unadulterated original principles.’ And the prudential advice, that as few changes as possible should be made, he called ‘a device of Satan, to render the regress to Popery more easy.’—Burnet, iii, Append. p. 200. Gualter, in a letter dated Jan. 16, 1559, says, that such advices, though ‘according to a carnal judgment full of modesty, and apparently conducive to the maintenance of concord,’ were to be ascribed to ‘the public enemy of man’s salvation;’ and he prophetically warns those who suffered abuses to remain and strengthen themselves in England, that ‘afterward they would scarcely be able to eradicate them by all their efforts and struggles.’—Ibid. iii, 273. Append. p. 265.

“Fuller says, that the English Reformers ‘permitted ignorant people to retain some fond customs, that they might remove the most dangerous and destructive superstitions; as mothers, to get children to part with *knives*, are content to let them play with *rattles*.’ Very good; but if children are suffered to play too long with rattles, they are in great danger of not parting with them all their days.”

APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION OF THE AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

Introducing his author, *Chapin*, from whom he quotes on this subject, Mr. Schuyler says, page 209,—“We give the reader a catalogue of the names of the bishops, in the line of the apostolical succession in the church of England, through which our episcopacy is derived. The line of succession as here given, is traced through the archbishop of Canterbury to Augustine, who was consecrated by Vigellius, the twenty-fourth archbishop of Arles, in France, and Ætherius, the thirty-first bishop of Lyons,—whose commissions are traced in a direct line, through Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, to St. John. *That this catalogue is perfectly correct we have not the least doubt.*”

As a matter of some interest, I would like to ask our author why he has not given us the pure Anglican line, without puddling at all through the feculent and unwholesome bogs of Rome? Why does he not stand to the popular modern notion of an independent and separate Anglican church, planted on the soil by an apostle, by Paul, or Jamesthe son of Zebedee, or Peter, or Simon Zelotes? Possibly, he has some *little* doubt of the practicability of tracing such a line with exactness and certainty. He has *none*, however, in regard to the one which he has selected. “That *this* catalogue is perfectly correct” he has “not the *least* doubt.”

Does he mean that he has an undoubting *knowledge*, or an undoubting *faith* of the perfect correctness of this catalogue? His assurance, I need hardly say, must be the assurance of *faith*; for *knowledge* he will not pretend that it is possible for him to have. Take almost any name that occurs in this list, previous, we will say, to the time of William the Conqueror, in the eleventh century, and how will he proceed to verify the necessary facts to show that that name belonged to a man, who was a *bona fide* bishop, duly consecrated to the office, by a

bishop, or by bishops, that had been duly consecrated before him? Mr. Schuyler may have no doubt of the perfect regularity of this succession, but *I* am an unbeliever; and now the question is, how am *I* to be convinced? He may show me plausible reasons for supposing that the succession may have been regular and uninterrupted; he may establish a tolerable *presumption* in its favor; but this will not relieve my difficulty, because I can show better reasons for supposing that there have been many breaks in the line of that succession, and that there is, at least, ground for a forcible presumption that it is utterly unworthy of any credit whatever. Now, it devolves upon our Episcopal friends to establish their pretended succession by well attested *records*, and by clear documentary evidence. We want such testimony for it, as would be demanded in a court of justice, to prove the *parentage* of an individual, claiming to inherit property by virtue of his being the lineal descendant of some person who died a hundred years ago. Do they say, "*that is absurd, such testimony is entirely out of the question in a case like this?*" We reply, that to pretend to furnish such testimony may be absurd, but it is not absurd in us to ask for it. It is the very thing that we ought to have; and nothing less than this ought to be thought of, by them or by us. They do not come claiming to inherit a farm, or a thousand farms, but the entire grace of God, a complete monopoly of powers and privileges, under the original charter which Jesus Christ gave to his apostles, and which was bequeathed by them to their successors, on the ground that they, and they alone, are the apostles' lineal descendants, to whom, in this case, the inheritance belongs. Shall we not ask for clear, unequivocal, and positive testimony? Are we not justified in demanding full proof, before we consent to be ousted from all that we have heretofore deemed our rights? They say it is absurd, do they? that such testimony as we call for, is entirely out of the question in a case like this? Very well; if such testimony can not be produced, then the long and the short of it is, that they

can not make out their case. Talk to us of *strong presumptions!* Of proof that puts it "*next to impossible*" that they should be mistaken! Why such proof would not weigh a feather, if the suit were brought for a doubloon, in any respectable court in christendom. It looks brave on paper to make out a long list of names, with the name of St. John the apostle at the top, and of bishop White, of Pennsylvania, at the bottom, and to call it *the line of the apostolical succession of the American Episcopal church*; and, beyond a doubt, there are very many, just weak and ignorant enough to swallow the joke. They stare at this array of names with profound veneration, never doubting that it is a veritable genealogy, by which the apostolical descent of our American episcopal prelates is established, as really and truly as the lineal descent of Christ from Abraham through David, by the genealogy given in the first chapter of Matthew's gospel. There is now and then, however, I suppose, a man who knows that this line of apostolical succession is, for the most part, as fanciful as that famous vine, of which I have an indistinct recollection, in the old nursery tale, that grew up to the moon, upon which an aspiring English gentleman once ascended, till his progress was cut short by the severe and awful tones of a huge giant, growling from above.

"Phe, phi, pho, phum," etc.

Episcopalians, assuming that their theory is sound, and that the very existence of the christian church depends upon a true succession in a line of bishops from the apostles, *infer* that that succession has been maintained, and that they have it, from the acknowledged care which God exercises over his church. Taking for granted the main thing to be proved, that the true church exists by virtue of the apostolical succession in a line of bishops, they say, it betrays an infidel spirit toward God, to suppose that he has not taken care of the succession, and preserved its integrity. It is a favorite notion with them to place this succession of theirs on the same ground of importance to

the church, with the holy scriptures, and then to argue, that as the providence of God has preserved the latter in their integrity, in all the translations through which they have passed, from generation to generation, so, we may believe, that it has the former. They do not, therefore, demand absolute proof of their succession as a *fact*, but are willing to take it upon *trust*. This presumption lacks nothing to make it *forcible*, save some reasonable evidence in favor of the episcopal theory. Let us have *proof* that the apostolical succession stands on the same ground of importance to the church with the holy scriptures, and then we shall begin to listen with respect to this kind of reasoning.

We say, on the other hand, that if a true succession from the apostles, in a line of bishops, were in any manner essential to the existence of the christian church, God would have taken care, in the first place, that there should be no room for doubt in the minds of any of his people respecting its *importance*; and in the second place, that there should be no lack of evidence in regard to the regularity of the succession as a *fact*. He would have provided us, on whom the ends of the world are come, with as ample means of satisfaction respecting the succession, both as a *doctrine* and a *fact*, as we have for satisfying ourselves respecting the divine origin, and the present purity of the scriptures. He would not have permitted any serious darkness to gather over this subject in either branch of it. Instead of inferring the succession as a fact, from an assumption of the principle of prelatic episcopacy, we infer from the utter impossibility of establishing the *principle* that it is absurd to look for the *fact*; and from the equal impossibility of establishing the *fact*, we are still more strengthened in our conviction that there is no confidence to be put in the *principle*. We think our method of reasoning evinces no less *piety*, and far more good sense, than that of our opponents.

In a direct inspection of the catalogue of bishops with which we are furnished, as drawn up by *Mr. Chapin*, a variety of points is presented, which invite our attention. We can not

even glance at all of them. We propose simply to furnish examples of the kind of criticism to which this catalogue is liable.

If we begin at the beginning, the name which first offers itself, is that of ST. JOHN THE APOSTLE. Now was St. John the apostle, a *bishop*? Is he ever so styled in the scriptures? *Presbyter* he calls himself, but where *bishop*? In what one respect can it be shown that he resembled a modern episcopal prelate? By what right, then, is his name placed at the head of such a catalogue as this? Had he any official character save his *presbyterial* one, which was communicable to others, and in which he might have successors? This list of episcopal bishops, at its very first name, revives the whole of our previous discussion in regard to the apostolical office, and if we have shown, as we certainly claim to have done, that the apostolical office was extraordinary, and not successive, either in its nature or design, we might reasonably be saved from any farther trouble with this subject. If the apostles, as such, were not bishops, and their apostolic office was not successive, then, of course, the whole claim of prelatic succession falls to the ground.

But look at the next name, that of *Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna*. Has it ever been proved, or can it be, that Polycarp was bishop of Smyrna in the *prelatic sense*? We have demonstrated in the most conclusive manner, that for the first two centuries and upward, the term *bishop* was used in the church convertibly with *presbyter*, precisely as it is used by the sacred writers themselves in the New Testament; and that the utmost distinction that appears during all that period, is that of president-presbyter, or pastor, presiding over a single congregation, differing from other presbyters in the nature of his duties but not at all in the grade of his ministerial office. We affirm here, and we claim to have proved, that Polycarp was no more a bishop in the sense in which William White was bishop of Pennsylvania, than he was civil magistrate or king. The grand difficulty with this succession of diocesan prelates is, that it lacks a *beginning*. Our Episcopal brethren never can show,

either that the apostleship was intended to be perpetuated by such a succession as they claim, or that such a succession, in point of fact, *ever commenced*.

But it is not solely for the lack of a beginning that this chain fails. We are prepared to show, even on episcopal principles, that there are breaks in it all along in its continuation. Let us take the name of *Phlegmund*, ordained archbishop of Canterbury, according to Godwin in his lives of the English bishops, by pope Formosus, A. D. 891. Of this pontiff it is credibly affirmed, that he obtained his election by *perjury*, and that his entire life was one of the most abandoned and outrageous wickedness. Cormeniu, himself a Roman Catholic, says of him, in his history of the popes, that "he died at the age of eighty years, after having put to death in his quarrels, one half of the population of Rome." His authority, at the time of his elevation to the popedom, was violently disputed, on the ground both of personal ineligibility and irregularity in the proceedings; and after his death, Stephen Seventh caused his dead body to be exhumed, and a formal sentence of condemnation to be passed against him, for having "*pushed his ambition so far, as to usurp the See of Rome, in defiance of the sacred canons, which forbade this infamous action.*" All his ordinations were declared to be *null and void*, and those whom he had ordained were directed to be ordained again. This decree of condemnation against Formosus, was afterward confirmed, in its utmost extent, by pope Sergius Third.

Now I will say nothing of the fitness of Formosus to perpetuate the succession. It is claimed by Episcopalians that neither the character of the ordainer, nor the manner in which he obtained his place, has any thing to do with the validity of his acts, — that the simple question is — was he fully invested with the episcopal office? But if the acts of Formosus were valid, so also were those of Stephen Seventh, and Sergius Third. What, in this case, becomes of those whom Formosus ordained, and of their successors? Phlegmund, who received from

Formosus whatever episcopal grace he may have had, is placed then, to say the least, in an extremely questionable position. We believe that to the great majority of unbiased minds, the chain of the English apostolical succession, will forever seem to be in want of a link at his name, and that no possible reasoning will avail to persuade them of the contrary.

The next name to which we direct attention is that of *Rodolph* or *Rodulph*, put down in the list as ordained A. D. 1114. Of this archbishop, it is said by Selden, (works, vol. iii,) that he was invested with his office merely by receiving from the king, the pastoral staff and ring, without any consecration whatever. "Much stir," says Selden, "both at Rome and in England, was touching investiture of bishops and abbots by *lay hands*; Anselm, archprelate of Canterbury, mainly opposing himself against it, whose persuasion so wrought with the king, that it was permitted to be discontinued from that time. Notwithstanding this, in the year 1107, *by the ring and pastoral staff—per annulum et baculum*, (as *Matthew Paris* tells,) *was, by the same Henry, one Rodolph made archbishop of Canterbury.*" There is a slight discrepancy of the dates, but the identity of the persons can not be questioned. What becomes, then, of the link in this chain of succession, at the name of Rodulph?

We refer next to the case of *Henry Chichely*, ordained archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1414, by pope Gregory Twelfth. To say nothing of the character of either of these personages, it is enough to inform the reader that Gregory was one of *three* who claimed, at the same time, to be invested with the papal authority; that previous to his ordination of Chichely, he had been condemned in a council, and that, subsequently, at the council of Constance, all his acts were formally *disannulled*, and he was declared to be neither pope nor bishop. How, then, stands the case with Chichely, on episcopal principles? Was he a true successor of the apostles? I think it will be difficult to satisfy any reasonable mind, that the chain of

the English apostolical succession is not broken again at this place.

Matthew Parker, ordained archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1559, is in even a worse predicament. I find his case so well stated in a recent publication, which has just come into my hands, from the pen of Dr. J. N. Campbell, of Albany, that I can not forbear to quote it in full: "Dr. Matthew Parker, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, in obedience to letters patent of queen Elizabeth, in the year 1559, in the chapel of the palace of Lambeth. Strype and Burnet, the Episcopal, and Neal, the Puritan historian, all agree that the persons who performed this act were Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins. These bishops, according to Neal, had been deprived (*i. e.* deposed) in the last reign, for not one of the present bishops would officiate—facts admitted by the two other historians. Strype says of this consecration, 'all things were rightly and canonically performed.' Neal says, 'it was performed in a plain manner,—only by the imposition of hands, and by prayer.' But the point to which we desire to direct attention, is the unquestionable fact, that doubts were entertained at the time, whether Parker's consecration was valid, principally because the persons performing the act had been deposed in the last reign, and had not yet been restored. Accordingly, to allay these doubts, seven years after the consecration, the parliament passed an act to confirm the validity of it, which set forth, according to Strype, the Episcopal historian, that the queen had, in her 'letters patent,' 'by her supreme power and authority, dispensed with all cases or doubts of any imperfection or disability that might any way be objected against the same.' Such is the source from which the whole English succession flows: a consecration commanded by the queen of England, performed by four bishops deposed by the same authority which created them, and confirmed by an act of parliament; a consecration in which the church had no voice, and declared, by even the Oxford divines, to be irregular and a scandal."

I will not ask, as Dr. Campbell does, if there is not abundant ground here for suspicion and doubt, but I ask, if it is not perfectly evident, even on Anglican principles, that the chain of succession is absolutely broken in Matthew Parker? Does not deposition disqualify a christian minister from performing any ministerial acts? Of what avail, then, was the form of consecration in this case? And could an act of parliament, authorized by a queen of England, make up the deficiency which here existed?

Coming down, now, to more recent times, I would inquire of the defenders of the English apostolical succession, whether it has yet been proved, that archbishop *Tillotson* ever received christian baptism? Of course, on Anglican principles, he could not have been bishop without this, for without it he was not even a christian, or a member of the church. Evidence of this archbishop's baptism has a thousand times been asked for, but has never yet been furnished. He, in his own lifetime, was repeatedly challenged to produce proof on this point, but never did it. That he was not baptized in infancy is undeniable, since his father was a *Baptist*, and no proof whatever exists, of his having received the ordinance afterward. Under all the circumstances, considering how much has been said on this subject, how much was said while Tillotson lived, and how often the proof of his baptism was called for, and called for in vain, it is fair to conclude that this prelate was really an unbaptized person. That he was ever ordained as a deacon, is as much a matter of doubt, as that he was baptized. How will our Episcopal friends dispose of this difficulty, and relieve their succession of the fatal doubts that are again gathering over it?

Similar to the case of Tillotson, is that of Thomas Secker, elevated to the see of Canterbury in 1738. This person was baptized, but on Anglican principles his baptism was of no account. Says Dr. Adam Clarke, vol. xii, of his miscellaneous works, page 171,—“Mr. Thomas Secker, afterward archbishop

of Canterbury, was the son of a dissenting minister, born in 1693. He was baptized after the form of that church, and studied at three dissenting schools successively, until he was nineteen years of age, when he went to the university of Oxford, and afterward entered the communion of the church of England." Clarke proceeds with a particular account of the successive steps by which he finally attained to the primacy, and adds,—“We hear nothing of his ever having been rebaptized.”

Again, therefore, What becomes, on Anglican principles, of the boasted succession? Either Secker was not a successor to the apostles, being not even a member of the christian church, or, the ministrations of men not episcopally ordained are valid.

Thus I might amuse myself to almost any extent, in pointing out defects in this most amusing line of Episcopal genealogies; but why should I multiply examples, when *one* is enough?

What I would like to say, in concluding this chapter, I prefer to say in the language of eminent Episcopalians.

Archbishop Whately, in illustrating the small reliance which can be placed on the regularity of the proceedings, by which, anciently, individuals were raised to the episcopal dignity, says,—“Even in later, and more civilized and enlightened times, the probability of an irregularity, though very greatly diminished, is diminished only, and not absolutely destroyed. Even in the memory of persons living, there existed a bishop, concerning whom there was so much mystery and uncertainty prevailing, as to when, and where, and by whom, he had been ordained, that doubts existed in the minds of many persons, whether he had ever been ordained at all.”

Again he says,—“Irregularities could not have been wholly excluded without a perpetual miracle; and that no such miraculous interference existed, we have historical proof. Amidst the numerous corruptions of doctrine and practice, and gross

superstitions that crept in during those ages, we find recorded descriptions, not only of profound ignorance and profligacy of life, of many of the clergy, but also of the grossest irregularities in respect of discipline and form. We hear of bishops consecrated when mere children; of men officiating, who barely knew their letters; of prelates expelled, and others put into their places by violence; of illiterate and profligate laymen, and habitual drunkards, admitted to holy orders; and in short, of the prevalence of every kind of disorder, and reckless disregard of the decency which the apostle enjoins. It is *inconceivable that any one even moderately acquainted with history, can feel a certainty that, amidst all this confusion and corruption, EVERY REQUISITE FORM was in EVERY INSTANCE strictly adhered to, by men, many of them openly profane and secular, unrestrained by public opinion, through the gross ignorance of the population among which they lived, and that NO ONE not duly consecrated and ordained was admitted to sacred offices.*"

It seems to me, speaking with all honesty, that there must be some singular defect in the structure of that person's mind, who does not perceive the unanswerable force of Whately's statement in this passage. He says, in the same connection,—*"There is not a minister in all christendom, who is able to trace up, with any approach to certainty, his own spiritual pedigree."*

Dr. John Brown, of Edinburgh, Scotland,—whom I quote here for the sake of his own citations contained in the passage,—in his book on "Puseyite Episcopacy," page 256, says, that in regard to the ancient bishops, "It is utterly impossible to produce any evidence of the regularity of their baptisms, or of the validity of their orders, or to tell, in many instances, which of them was first and which of them was last. Eusebius, the most early of our church historians, confesses that *he* could not do it; for he says, that he was 'like a man walking through a desert, with only here and there a light to direct him;' and that he had been able to collect such notices as he had procured,

‘of the successors, not *of all*, but only of *the more illustrious apostles*.’—Hist. Eccles. lib. i, cap. 1. And if such was his want of light in the fourth century, will you, or Mr. Newman, or Mr. Gladstone, throw more light on these matters *in the nineteenth*? And he says, in another passage, ‘Who they were, that imitating these apostles, (Peter and Paul,) were by them thought worthy to govern the churches which they planted, is no easy thing to tell, *excepting such as may be collected from Paul’s own words*.’—Lib. iii, cap. 4. On which *Stillingfleet* remarks—‘Then what becomes of our unquestionable line of succession of the bishops of several churches, and the large diagrams made of the apostolical churches, with every one’s name set down in his order, as if the writer had been *clarenceux* to the apostles themselves? Are all the great outeries of apostolical tradition, of personal succession, of unquestionable records, resolved at last into the scripture itself, by him from whom all these long pedigrees are fetched? Then let succession know its place, and learn to vaile bonnet to the scriptures; and withal, let men take heed of overreaching themselves, when they would bring down so large a catalogue of single bishops from the first and purest times of the church, for it will be hard to others to believe them, when Eusebius professeth it so hard to find them.’—*Irenicum*, page 297.”

Bishop Hoadley says,—“As far as we can judge of this, God’s providence never yet, in fact, kept up a regular, uninterrupted succession of rightful bishops.” “It hath not pleased God in his providence, to keep any proof of the *least probability*, or *moral possibility* of a regular uninterrupted succession; but there is a great appearance, and humanly speaking, a *certainty* of the contrary, *that the succession hath often been interrupted*.”

The bishop of Hereford, in a charge some years since to his clergy, uses the following language,—“You will exceed all just bounds, if you are constantly insisting upon the necessity of a belief in, and the certainty of the apostolical succession in the

bishops and presbyters of our church, as the only security for the efficacy of the sacraments,"—"To spread abroad this notion, would be to make ourselves the derision of the world."

Riddle, another English Episcopalian, in his "Plea for Episcopacy," says,—“Whatever may become of the apostolic succession as a theory, or an institute, it is impossible at all events, to prove the *fact* of such a succession, or to trace it down the stream of time. In this case, the fact seems to involve the doctrine; and if the fact be *hopelessly obscure, the doctrine is irrecoverably lost.*” * * * “It is IMPOSSIBLE to prove the personal succession of modern bishops, in an unbroken episcopal line, from the apostles, or men of the apostolic age.”

We conclude with remarking, that if our Episcopal brethren can find a pleasing entertainment in attempts to trace back the genealogies of their bishops to the apostles, we are sincerely glad of it, but they must not require us to receive their playful fancies for sober historical verities. We can look upon it as nothing less than an insult offered to our common sense.

HISTORICAL NOTICES.

Under this caption, an anonymous friend of Mr. Schuyler, at page 215 of his book, is very severe upon me for alledged blunders, or worse than blunders, in certain historical references contained in my sermon. We are informed in the brief note with which Mr. S. presents him to his readers, that he “has access to one of the best private libraries in the United States.” We should expect him, therefore, to be a person of large attainments, and thoroughly versed in all these matters.

I said, “It is given on the authority of Eusebius, that at a council held in Antioch in the year 260, there were present more than six hundred bishops.” The learned gentleman thus notices my assertion,—“I have hunted out his quotations from Eusebius. Dr. T. never could have read Eusebius, or if he

has, he is open to the charge of dishonesty; besides he is incorrect in his dates." In regard to the date, I am quite willing to confess that either through an oversight of my own in copying, or through a fault of the printer, and of my proof-reading, an error of *five years* was really committed. It should have been 265, and not 260. This however, can not be considered a very serious inadvertance. But what else was so very wrong in my statement as to justify the opinion, that I have *never read Eusebius*, or else, am *open to the charge of dishonesty*? I said, "more than six hundred bishops were present at the council." Is not this exactly what Eusebius affirms? My astute critic annihilates me in the following manner:

"Of the second council in 265, Eusebius says,—book vii: chap. 28, after naming several bishops who took an active part: 'Sex centos quoque alios qui una cum presbyteris et diaconis, eo confluerunt, nequaquam difficile fuerit recusere, verum hic quos dixi illustres prae ceteris habebantur.' 'Six hundred other bishops also, who *together* with PRESBYTERS and DEACONS, flocked thither, and whom it would not be difficult to enumerate.'"

The reader, by noticing the italics and the capitals used by the writer in his rendering of the passage from Eusebius, will be able to comprehend his idea. He supposes that the "more than six hundred," is to be made up by counting the bishops and presbyters and deacons *together!* I would like to know whether I am replying to the criticism of a *boy* who has access to his *father's* library, or to the very *owner of the library*. If to the latter, there is no hope for him. He will surely die a blockhead in spite of his opportunities. If a lad in any respectable grammar school in our city should make a blunder like this, he would deserve to be beaten. "*Several bishops who took an active part,*" and "sex centos quoque alios," *six hundred others also*, make "more than six hundred bishops," who, according to Eusebius, "*with the presbyters and deacons that flocked thither, it would be difficult to enumerate.*" I will not

say that this critic proves himself, either to have never read Eusebius, or to be open to the charge of dishonesty; but I do say, that however much he may read Eusebius, or any other author, he is little likely to be made the wiser,—and that he evidently lacks the wit to do much mischief in the world by his knavery.

My next assertion was, that “as late as the year 410, Augustine and the bishops of his province in Africa, held a conference with the Donatists, at which there were present over five hundred bishops.” My critic completely stultifies himself again on this point. He goes into a very careful history of the affair with the Donatists, in the course of which he says,—“When, however, Attalus was put down, *not* five hundred, but *two hundred and seventeen* bishops of Africa, feeling that his rescript was injurious to the Catholic church, met at Carthage, in the year 410, for the purpose of petitioning Honorius to recall his rescripts. Augustine was present, but did not preside, as one would infer from Dr. Thompson’s statement, but Aurelius, bishop of Carthage. Dr. T. gives his quotations so unfairly,” &c. What has this sixth provincial *council* held in Carthage, in 410, to do with the *conference* of which I spoke? *I* was not talking about the *council*, but another matter entirely, a *conference* agreed upon at that council, and held very soon after,—some say the same year, some the year after, for which reason I was careful in my sermon to say, “*as late as the year 410.*” Let Mosheim be heard,—vol. 2, chap. v, sec 2,—“This law, however, was not of long duration. (The law of the emperor Honorius, giving religious toleration to all parties.) It was abrogated at the earnest and repeated solicitations of the council which was held at Carthage in the year 410; and Marcellinus, the tribune, was sent by Honorius into Africa, with full power to bring to an end this tedious and unhappy contest. Marcellinus, therefore, held at Carthage in the year 411, a solemn *conference*,” &c. “The catholic bishops who were present at this conference, were two hundred and eighty-six in

number; and those of the Donatists two hundred and seventy-nine." Now, if we add together two hundred and eighty-six bishops and two hundred and seventy-nine bishops, the *sum*, that is, if bishops add like other people, is, I believe, "over five hundred bishops," according to my statement. Bishop Burnet, also, in his observations on the first and second canons, called apostolical, says,—“In some countries we find the bishoprics very thick set. They were pretty throng in Africk; for, in a conference which Austine and the bishops of that province had with the Donatists, there were of bishops *present*, two hundred and eighty-six, and one hundred and twenty absent, and sixty sees vacant, which in all makes four hundred and sixty-six. There were also two hundred and seventy-nine of Donatist bishops.” I trust that this matter now is straight, so that my reviewer can understand it.

Again; I am sharply called to my account by this accomplished gentleman for a *misnomer*. He says,—“He, (Dr. Thompson,) quotes ‘Victor Uticensis:’ the work turns out to be ‘Victor Vitensis.’ How he makes out of it ‘Uticensis,’ he ought to explain.”

I will, with all my heart, my dear sir;—First, then, you must know that Victor was *bishop*, as, in those early times, they were in the habit of calling all pastors of churches, of *Utica*, or, which is equivalent, of the *church* in Utica; not Utica on the Mohawk river, in this state, but a famous city of the Phœnicians, on the northern coast of Africa. Are you attending? Well, then; he is called Uticensis, from UTICA, the place where he lived, by converting the final vowel into *ensis*, a very common method among the Greeks of getting new names of distinction for individuals who needed them. I hope I make myself intelligible. The younger Cato, it may be recollected by you, from your extensive reading in that best private library in the United States, committed suicide in this same city of Utica, whence he was styled, as a convenient way of distinguishing him from all other Catos, “*Cato Uticensis*.”

By good writers, Victor has very generally gone by the name of Uticensis, from the first; yet by a corrupt change of the *u* into *v*, by dropping one letter and transposing another, some have made *Vitensis* out of it, for which they ought to be ashamed.

I said, "Victor Uticensis informs us in his book, "*De Persecutione Vandalica*," (the book may be found by those who desire to see it, in the Bibliotheca Patrum,) which was a persecution by one body of christians against another,—that from the part of Africa in which it raged, six hundred and sixty bishops fled, besides a great number who were imprisoned, and many more who were tolerated. Upon the lowest estimate, counting the bishops of the persecuting party with those of the persecuted, there could not have been fewer of them in that part of Africa alone, than from two to three thousand. My object was, to show from the great *number* of bishops, that these bishops could not have been diocesans, in the episcopal sense, but must have been simply *pastors* of churches, ordinary christian ministers; the word *bishop* being used in the New Testament sense. My critic says,— "I hardly think Dr. T. could have made such a parade about the six hundred and sixty fugitive bishops, which he estimates to be about one-third of the whole, had he *known*, as we do, that the *primitive practice* was to ordain bishops in every city." Why, my dear sir, I reply, that is the very thing which I *do* know, and which I desired to make my hearers know when I preached that sermon. "The *primitive practice* was to ordain bishops in every city;" and more than that, in every *place* where a christian church was gathered, just as the practice of Presbyterians *always* has been, and is at this day; and hence we infer, that the primitive bishops, instead of being prelates, like bishops in the Episcopal church, were plain Presbyterian ministers, each one having charge of his own parish, and, as a bishop indeed, "*feeding the flock of God, taking the oversight thereof*." My object was to show, that as the term *bishop* in the *New Testament*, means simply *minister*, or *pastor*, so

in the *early records of the church*, in the times immediately following those of the New Testament writers, it means the *same*; and the proof in part, was drawn from the *very great number* of bishops, showing that all the pastors of churches must have received that designation. Can it be supposed that the number of churches exceeded the number of bishops, when, by the lowest possible estimate, there were at least two thousand of the latter in a single small district of Africa?

In these early times it may be mentioned here as a fact, that on the island of *Crete*, just about one-third as large as the little state of Maryland, there were one hundred bishops. Were they Episcopal prelates, does any one suppose, or Presbyterian pastors? I might give any number of similar examples, showing, beyond the possibility of a rational doubt, that the *primitive bishops were nothing more nor less than parish ministers*.

I have devoted space enough to this subject. The reader perceives, that, in every material instance, the statements of my sermon were rigidly correct, and that the attempt to disprove them has only betrayed the utter incompetency of the critic. He evidently ventured beyond his depth, not at all comprehending the topics to be considered. If I have indulged in unusual severity in my notice of his strictures, let the amount of provocation in the nature of his attack upon me, be weighed, and especially the impertinence of such an attack from such a person. Had he given his name, I probably should have felt bound to treat him with some respect, but the laws of courtesy afford no protection to the anonymous.

NUMBER OF EPISCOPALIANS AS COMPARED WITH THE VARIOUS OTHER SECTS.

I said in my sermon, page fifty-five,—“With the exception of the English and American Episcopal churches, all the *reformed* churches in the world are Presbyterian; that is to say, they are all organized on the principle of *parity* in the one order of ministers, called, in the New Testament, *presbyters*. All, without exception, save Episcopalians, have abjured the principle of hierarchism as a corrupt invention of men, leaving them in a very small minority.” What reply does my reviewer make to this? Read it, and admire,—page 217.

“Says bishop Delancy, in his sermon entitled ‘The Faithful Bishop,’ ‘geographers tell us, that of the eight hundred millions of inhabitants on this globe, but little more than two hundred millions bear the christian name; and of these two hundred millions, one hundred and eighty millions acknowledge the authority of christian bishops in the church, as possessing, in contradistinction from other ministers, the governing and ordaining power.’ In a note, he (bishop Delancy) appends the following:

“‘Geographers differ somewhat as to the precise amount of christian population in the world. Malte Brun makes the *Protestant* population of christendom about forty-two millions; *one-half* of which being Episcopal, would make it stand thus:

Total christian population of the world, . . .	228,000,000
Those who reject the office of a bishop in the church,	21,000,000
Leaving, as the number of those who retain the office,	207,000,000

“‘According to Hassel, it would stand thus: Total christian population, two hundred and fifty-one millions; of whom those

who retain the office of bishop in the church amount to two hundred and twenty-three millions; those who reject the office, to twenty-seven millions and a half. From other calculations it is made out that five-sixths of the christian world receive this form of the ministry.'"

This is an answer, is it, to my statement that the English and American Episcopal churches alone, of all the *reformed churches* in the world, retain the hierarchical feature, and that in so doing, compared of course with other *reformed churches*, they are in a very small minority? I am replied to by a quotation from bishop Delancy, which has just about the same relation to the comparative amounts of population in the several planets, that it has to the subject on which my statement was made.

Who denies, that if Episcopalians are counted with all the vast multitudes of *nominal* christians in the Roman Catholic and Greek communions, they have a majority? and that if to all these are added the Lutherans, and Moravians, and Methodists, and others, who, though they have renounced the principle of *hierarchism*, have nevertheless adopted a species of episcopacy which we ourselves do not object to for them, if they like it, that majority is considerably increased? We made our statement, let it be observed, of *reformed churches*, and of the *principle of hierarchism*, not of *presbyterial episcopal superintendency*; and we repeat that statement as literally true.

Among all christians that pretend to be *reformed*, the Episcopalians of England and America are perfectly *solitary* in maintaining the corrupt institution of a hierarchical ministry, and in this respect they are in a very small minority. In regard to the principle of *parity*, Lutherans, Moravians, Methodists, and all others who are called episcopal on account of the feature of superintendency in their ecclesiastical systems, are with us, and not one whit behind us in their abhorrence of *hierarchism*, and in this comparison are to be *counted with us*.

The forms in which christianity is professed are very numerous, but the whole are comprehended in three leading systems:

the Roman Catholic, the Eastern or Greek, and the Protestant or Reformed. *Protestantism* is professed in two chief forms,—*presbytery*, which rejects the great external feature of the Romish and Greek systems of a hierarchy of bishops, and admits only the government of the church by a body of ministers all equal in rank; and episcopacy, which retains that chief external feature of the Romish and Greek systems, and admits the government of the church by a hierarchy of bishops, whose spiritual authority is claimed to be derived from the apostles, by transmission through an uninterrupted series of ordinations from the beginning. Now we say, that in the Protestant or reformed section of nominal christendom, to which the Episcopal churches of England and America belong, they, in retaining the hierarchical feature, *stand alone, and are in a very small minority*. I have not the figures at hand to show the actual difference, but I venture the opinion that they are considerably less than *one-fifth* of the whole. Taking bishop Delancy's statement from Malte Brun, that *one-half* of the Protestant population of christendom is *Episcopal*, and deducting from that all the Lutherans, and Moravians, and Methodists, and other christians belonging to churches which have a *form* of episcopacy, but are *really* Presbyterian, who are included in Malte Brun's calculation to make his *one-half*, and any one can see how small the proportion *must* be that will be left.

What advantage do Episcopalians hope to derive in an argument with us, from swelling the numbers of those who support the hierarchical form of church government, by counting with themselves the hordes of the Romish and Greek communions? Or what advantage do they hope to derive for the same object, from counting *dishonestly* with themselves those who resemble them in the mere accident of a *name*, but utterly reject their principle?

BARROW ON THE APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.

My reviewer finds fault with me because the extracts from this author in my sermon, "are culled from two pages of an octavo volume." I do not see how the extracts are less pertinent on that account. It seems to me that the difference is quite imperceptible, so long as they are veritable extracts from Barrow, whether they are culled, or taken up as a solid whole; whether they are culled from two pages or from one; or, whether they are culled from two pages of an octavo volume, or from two pages of a duodecimo. If these are great matters with him, they are small matters with me. The main question, I think, relates to the nature of Barrow's testimony. I know that the main drift of Barrow's reasoning is against the succession to the primacy of St. Peter, and the supremacy of the pope. But how does he maintain his point? Simply by showing that St. Peter could have no successor to his *primacy*? or by showing that the apostles could have *no successors to their apostleship*? In the latter way, certainly. "The apostolical office," he says, "*as such*, was personal and temporary;" (precisely what Presbyterians affirm,) "and therefore, according to its nature and design, not successive or communicable to others, in perpetual descendance from them." "Now such an office was not designed to continue by derivation; for it containeth in it diverse things which apparently were not communicable, and which no man, without gross imposture and hypocrisy, could challenge to himself."

What is it that Barrow says was "personal and temporary," and "not successive or communicable to others?" My reviewer says, (page 220,) that he affirms this of "the personal endowments and miraculous qualifications by which they (the apostles) were fitted for the extraordinary circumstances of the infant church." The reader can see for himself what the fact is, — "*The apostolical office*," says Barrow, was personal and

temporary,' and "not successive or communicable to others." He speaks not of the mere *accidents* of the office, but of the *office* itself. The apostolical office, "*as such*," that is, in its own *proper and peculiar nature*, was personal and temporary, and not successive or communicable to others. My reviewer goes on to say, expository still of Barrow's meaning, "It is only the apostolical office *as characterized* by the *inspiration* and *miraculous powers* of its first incumbents, which he asserts can have no succession." But I simply appeal to Barrow himself. What does he say? That the apostolical office, *as characterized* by something personal to its first incumbents, is not successive or communicable? Or, does he affirm this of the *office* itself, *as such*? Is it some mere temporary *character* of the office as it was first held, that he speaks of, or the *very office*? From such interpreters as this anonymous reviewer, I can say devoutly in the language of the prayer-book,—“Good Lord deliver us.”

Having furnished us with this specimen of his critical acumen, he proceeds to make other quotations from Barrow, to show that he did truly believe in the doctrine of apostolical succession, as it is held by the high-church Episcopal party. In other words, he undertakes to make Barrow stultify himself, by teaching elsewhere a doctrine which, in the passages that have been noticed, he emphatically condemns—to make him say, in the face of his own unequivocal *denial*, that “the *apostolical office, as such*,” has been succeeded to by multitudes, and that it *is* “communicable to others in perpetual descendance.” Poor Barrow! well might he exclaim, were he alive, and could he know of my reviewer's labors, *Save me from my friends!* If his good character will not save him, I must let him go, for, as to taking up these several quotations and showing, as I might do, that in not one of them does Barrow contradict his own assertion, which has been already considered, I shall not attempt it. The apostolical office, *as such*, ceased with the apostles, but the office of the *christian ministry*, which they held, did not cease with them, and in *that* they have

successors undoubtedly, which is the real doctrine of Barrow in all the places which my reviewer has quoted from him. I claim, myself, to be a *successor of the apostles* in this holy office, and to have derived my succession from them, *by transmission*, through "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery," when I was ordained. I claim to be a true *scriptural bishop*, in the very sense of the word *bishop*, as it occurs in the New Testament, and as it was used by all the early christian writers; in the very sense of Cyprian, as quoted from Barrow by my reviewer, on page 221, and of Chrysostom, on page 222. Barrow, of course, would not allow, that in denying the *false doctrine* of apostolical succession, which had been the prolific source of so many abominable corruptions in the Romish church, he gave up the derivation of ministerial authority in the Protestant churches from the apostles, and he was very careful, therefore, to guard this point, and he has done it well. He teaches everywhere, that in their *apostolical office, as such*, the apostles had no successors, but that all regularly ordained christian ministers *are* their successors in the only communicable office which they held. If Barrow, as an Episcopalian, had some ideas of the superiority of the episcopal office, and of the exclusive appropriation to it, by general consent, of certain ministerial powers and prerogatives, which the body of ministers should forego and surrender, for the sake of government; and that, in this respect, while all ministers are truly successors of the apostles, bishops are so in a larger sense;—that is not strange, nor do I reproach him for it. He was a great and good man, who has done eminent service to the church, and will doubtless do more, if he is not too much maligned by such men as my reviewer.

INCONSISTENT OPINIONS OF INDIVIDUAL
BISHOPS OF NO WEIGHT.

Such is the heading of the concluding article in Mr. Schuyler's book, furnished by his anonymous friend; the design of which is to show that it matters not what the opinions of the leading reformers in England were at the time when the reformation in that country was arrested, and the English church took that permanent character and form which it wears at the present day. Their views, the writer says, do not affect the real question in debate, which is to be decided upon its own merits. Now I would be disposed to grant the principle claimed here, in all ordinary cases. But this case is peculiar. The English church is held up before us, as the only example on earth of a *truly reformed church*. Other reformed churches, so called, are no churches, but have broken out of the pale, have unchurched themselves, by casting off some things which are essential to a true church existence; but the English church came just far enough, and not a step too far. She truly reformed, and not *de-formed*, stopping at the precise point of absolute perfection, and now presents the only instance of the true church of the Redeemer in its purity and beauty. I grant that the great question in regard to her claims is to be settled finally and definitely, by comparing her, as she stands, with the unerring word of God in the scriptures. But is there no question in regard to the history of her reformation, in regard to the influences under which it was conducted, and under which, also, it was arrested, by which the great question may be in some measure prejudged, and a *probability* one way or the other be established, that shall cheer us on and lighten our way in the main definitive investigation? Or, seeing that the argument upon scripture ground is likely to be endless, and never to bring forth a conclusion in which all parties may harmonize, is there no question of the kind that has been referred to, whose

answer may serve as a make-weight to decide, if possible, the quivering scales? or which, at least, may help some minds in resolving their troublesome and most adhesive doubts? It is certainly a most remarkable thing, that the English church in her work of reformation, stopping so soon upon the road, should have been so fortunate as to hold up at the very point of perfection. Other reforming churches found a very natural stopping place at the end of the way, when they had divested themselves of the last rags of the papacy; but the church of England held up *in medias res*, before the end was even in sight, and yet, it was at the exact moment when she had perfected herself! This is truly wonderful, and the question naturally arises,—Was there any thing in her peculiar circumstances, or in the peculiar influences under which she acted, that may serve in any measure to account for this most fortunate issue of her reforming movements? Had she better and more enlightened men at the head of her affairs, than the church in Scotland, or the churches on the continent? Was she less embarrassed than these other churches, by secular interference? Had she a fuller opportunity for acting out the free, enlightened, and consentaneous christian sense of her wisest and best men? And, as a fact, was it in a peculiar manner, in the unhindered, uninfluenced acting out of the free, enlightened, and consentaneous christian sense of her wisest and best men, that she finally arrested her reform where she did, and took on the shape and character in which she now appears?

Now, if all these questions, and others like them, are to be answered clearly in the affirmative, then it seems to me that the scriptural argument for the English church begins on high vantage ground, and has every thing in the actual circumstances of the case, to prepare its way, and give it force. Or, if the argument has been taken, and the conclusion hangs in suspense, then, the peculiar circumstances of the case must serve strongly, if not effectually, to determine a preponderance on the Anglican side. If, however, these and similar questions are to be

answered clearly in the negative; if the English church, at the time referred to, had no better or more enlightened men than the church in Scotland, or the churches on the continent; if she was far *less* free than these other churches from the embarrassments of secular interference, being completely in the hands of a wicked and worldly government, which used its power to the utmost; if the opportunity afforded her of following the free, enlightened, and consentaneous christian sense of her wisest and best men, was really far inferior to that enjoyed by other churches; and if, as a fact, in the final adjustment of her reform, and consolidation of her permanent state, the free, enlightened, and consentaneous sense of her wisest and best men *was not followed*, then, I say, the scriptural argument on her behalf must be overwhelmingly conclusive, or it will be a hopeless labor forever to those who undertake it; and to those minds that are balanced upon that argument, having previously attended to it, the circumstances of the case must, I think, afford immediate relief, and decide a most cordial rejection of her claims. In Scotland, the cause of reform met with abundant opposition from the government, but it was able to bear down that opposition, and succeeded finally in establishing itself, in spite of all its enemies, secret or open, according to the most enlightened views, and fondest wishes of its supporters and friends. Such was the fact also upon the continent. Luther, and his coadjutors, in Germany,—Calvin, and Zuinglius, with their coadjutors in Switzerland, under God, were enabled to carry out their views, and to constitute the churches with which they were severally connected, in the fullest accordance with what they approved as scriptural and expedient. Very different was it in England. The church in that country was very part and parcel of the civil government. So thoroughly was it interlaced with the state, that any material change of its outward structure, inevitably involved changes to the same extent in the state itself. To demolish and reconstruct the ecclesiastical, was to demolish and reconstruct the civil. Revolution in one, beyond

what was simply speculative and spiritual, was revolution in the other. While changes of opinion, therefore, on merely doctrinal points, were easily tolerated; while the government did not care a pin whether the church were Calvinistic or Arminian in its doctrine, but was willing it should be either, or neither, or both, as the thirty-nine articles bear witness, changes of ecclesiastical structure and administration were from the first steadfastly resisted, and none were admitted, even to the last, except such as might be, without disturbing the established order of things. What the wisest and best men in England desired, what they longed after, and sought to obtain, I have shown abundantly in other places. But what could they do against the colossal power of the throne, backed by nearly all the nobility of the realm, almost every family of which had younger members dependent for their influence and incomes, on the preferments of a hierarchical and state-paid church? They could do nothing but be content with the largest reform which that government would give them. Fortunately, things were in a condition which gave the reformers power. The people, to a great extent, were with them, and their wishes could not be wholly disregarded. Besides, England had given deep offense to the reigning powers of Europe, and her very existence depended on the maintenance of peace and concord at home. Hence, as Macaulay says,—“As the Protestants needed the protection of the government, so the government needed the support of the Protestants. Much was, therefore, given up on both sides; a union was effected, and the result of that union was the church of England.”

Will it be pretended that such facts as these are to have no weight, in ascertaining what degree of respect is due to the high claims which are set up for the English church? I affirm that it is utterly impossible that they should *not* have weight with every human mind that perceives them. Nevertheless, certainly, they ought not to decide the question. God may have wrought another miracle for his church in England, as we

know that in former times he has wrought many, and given her a true and perfect reformation, in circumstances, that on natural principles, would seem to exclude the possibility of it. Who can tell? Therefore, "to the law and to the testimony." The scriptures alone are competent to afford a final and infallible decision. Let it be proved from the scriptures, that the English church is what our Episcopal friends claim that she is, that her reformation did go just far enough, and no farther, and that the result of it was to bring forth the church of Christ in its purity, as he constituted it at the first, and intended it should be;—prove this, I say, from the scriptures, and I will bow to the authority. I will own the miracle, by which this glorious result was secured, and praise God for his grace.

It is true that the English reformers accepted of their church as it was finally established, and served it, and served *in* it, praying for its peace and prosperity, and submitting themselves to its ordinances. What then? Were they dishonest men because they did this, while in their hearts they fully believed that the reformation had been incomplete? Is it so, then, that no honest man can be a member of a church which he does not believe to be in all respects perfect? In that case, if the principle were acted upon, I fear we should soon have few honest men in any of our churches. We fully believe that the system of prelacy has no ground in the scriptures; that there is neither precept nor precedent there to recommend it; and we believe, that as a form of church government, it is unwise and inexpedient; yet we do not regard it as *positively sinful*, so as to vitiate whatever else in a church is good, and make the church which adopts it, no church. So, doubtless, felt the pious reformers of England. Unable to obtain all that they desired, they were wisely thankful for all they could obtain, and tried to make the best of it, rejoicing in what was good, and submitting, in the hope of better days to come, to the evil which they could not cure. I believe that I am an honest man, and yet I am free to confess, that with all my disrelish for episcopacy,

and my deep conviction that it is both without scripture warrant, and very far from being the best form of government the church can have, that had I been in the place of one of those reformers, I should have had a good conscience in doing as they did.

C O N C L U S I O N .

I have finished the work which I proposed to do. I wish I could think that I have done full justice to my theme. I have done the best that I could, in the circumstances, and now commit the result to God's holy providence, earnestly praying that if no good influence shall be exerted by what I have written, there may, at least, be exerted no influence that is evil. My main purpose has been, to furnish Presbyterians with a simple and easy method of meeting the arguments that are commonly used against them, and of defending their own system; and at the same time to help those minds that are embarrassed with doubts, respecting the comparative claims of prelacy and parity. I have not now, nor have I ever had, the least idea of making converts from the ranks of confirmed Episcopalians—I hardly expect from that class to obtain readers. I doubt if many of them are at all accustomed to read works on this subject which do not inculcate their own peculiar views. As little as I expect that my book will make converts from the ranks of confirmed Episcopalians, do I expect that it will exert any perceptible influence in arresting the onward progress of the Episcopal church. That church has attractions for many that will always serve, especially in our large towns and cities, to replenish and augment its numbers. Many, who can not reconcile themselves to the senseless mummeries of the Catholic service will be drawn into the Episcopal church by their natural fondness for forms, and imposing ceremonial display. Episcopalians, more

than any other Protestant christians, are fond of elegant church-
edifices and furniture, of pictorial adornments, and highly
artistic choral performances, and whatever else they lack, these, if
at all within their reach, they will not be without. Many will be
drawn to them by the natural influence of these things. Their
church is an easy one for easy christians. They have little or
no discipline for unruly members, so that a reputable standing
may be maintained among them by persons, who, in almost
any other communion, could not avoid the extremest censures
and discipline. This makes it a place of refuge for the discon-
tented and restive of other churches, and determines, at once,
the election of it by those who wish to maintain some sort of
religious character, without the ordinary restraints of a religious
profession. All these circumstances make it a fashionable
church. People of fashion go to it, because it does not inter-
fere with their fashionable pleasures, and because it has the
means of gratifying a fashionable taste. As a fashionable
church, it not only attracts fashionable persons, but great num-
bers besides, who are aspiring to the same distinction. Then,
in addition to all these things, the Episcopal church affords the
utmost latitude of theological views to its ministry and members.
It puts nobody in a strait jacket. Its articles cover the whole
ground from the north pole of Calvinism, to the extreme south
of Arminianism; and its practice consecrates any thing, that
any one chooses to think, in any direction, so long as on the one
hand he does not embrace Popery, or on the other utterly reject
the authority of the bishop. No man inclined to go into the
Episcopal church need give himself any uneasiness about his
doctrinal sentiments; and no man need hesitate about going
there, from the least apprehension, especially, if he lives in a
large city, that he shall not be able to find a preacher that will
suit his taste. Does he want a man strictly orthodox, and
rigidly Calvinistic? Mr. A. will please him perfectly. Does he
prefer a low and flaccid Arminianism? Mr. B., just around the
corner in the next street, will meet the requirement to a tittle.

Must his preacher be a staunch revivalist? Mr. C. is second to none of that class. Must he be a bitter opposer of revivals, even an utter disbeliever in them and mocker of them, who will tolerate nothing among his people but the dull monotony of a mere prayer book religion, and eschew excitements as he would schism and death? Mr. D. then, is his man. The picture could not have been more faithful, had he sat for it. Will he bear to hear nothing in the pulpit but pretty moral essays, very short? At the reverend Dr. E's church he may count with a perfect certainty on hearing nothing else from year's end to year's end. Does he desire to learn the lessons of extreme high-churchism? Young Mr. F. will suit him then, for, if all his sermons had been imported direct from Oxford, with Dr. Pusey's own imprimatur upon them, they could not be more highly impregnated than they are with the genuine Oxford element. Is his mind, perchance, deeply imbued with a love for the simple gospel, and wherever he goes, will he insist upon being fed with the pure evangelic manna? Happily, the Episcopal church can provide for him, for there are those in her ministry, and I praise God for it, who have no superiors as faithful messengers of the grace of life. Thus all sorts can be suited. In this respect it is a broad net that the Episcopal church casts forth upon the waters. Episcopacy gains farther a large advantage, with a certain order of minds, from the very extravagance of its pretensions, and the positiveness with which those pretensions are maintained. There is something in our very nature, that predisposes us, in determining the relative merits of conflicting claims, to accord superiority to that which is most audacious, and which presses itself upon us with the most unswerving pertinacity. We are very apt to think that where there is most smoke, there is most fire, and that the biggest thunder comes from the biggest cloud. Episcopalians claim, that of all Protestants, they alone have the church, the christian ministry, and the sacraments. They are the true "Israelites, to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the

giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers," and whatever else may be regarded as distinguishing the elect people of the Most High. Others are only dissenters, schismatics, aliens,—and their churches mere human societies, dissevered from Christ the head, and having no share in the streams of heavenly grace. This claim they put forth with the utmost seriousness, and urge with as much pertinacity as if they verily believed that the honor of God, and the salvation of souls depended on it. Who can wonder, that to minds of a certain class it is deeply affecting? It would be strange, if it were not. The claim is imposing. It is grand. With many persons it is overwhelming, and they are taken by it as by storm, without even asking for the first evidence. They think there must be something in it, or good men would not be found so earnestly advocating and urging it.

The Episcopal church has always received, and probably always will receive, from other denominations, numerous accessions to its *ministry*. I have not the means of ascertaining with any certainty what proportion of its living clergy is composed of this class of persons, but it is undoubtedly very large. I think I can say with truth, that quite one-third of those with whom I am personally acquainted, were educated under another system. Episcopalians boast of this, and refer to it as evidence of the peculiar force with which their system commends itself to educated minds. Some facts, therefore, are important to be stated here, bearing upon this point. It is to be considered, in the first place, that young men, aiming at the christian ministry, are ordinarily not in possession of very highly educated minds, at the period when they elect the church in whose fellowship they will perform their labors. At the time when this question is commonly decided by them, they are much more likely to be influenced by certain considerations, which I propose to mention, than by any clear and well-digested views of christian doctrine and the facts of sacred and profane history. I believe it will not be denied that young men, of the

class that we call educated, are far more apt to be very ambitious than very learned; and the prelatic system of church order has, what the presbyterial system has not, an *object* to set before them. In our churches there is no high *place* of dignity and power to be sought and won. There are with us no distinctions but those of superior merit, and pre-eminent usefulness, — distinctions, to which the kind of ambition that I now speak of, is by no means likely to aspire. Does any one suppose, that of all the young men that have entered the ministry of the Episcopal church from the ranks of parity, not one has been attracted there, by the prospect of one day becoming a bishop? It may seem a small thing to mention the gown, and bands, and muslin robes which compose the Sunday uniform of Episcopal clergymen, but as drops make up the ocean, so small things make up the sum of life; and I must not fail to ask my readers, if it is not, at least, supposable, that some young men are drawn into the ministry of the Episcopal church, by the idea that they shall *look well* in all that finery? Young men are very silly sometimes, and in respect to nothing, more than the article of dress; and I am sorry to say that young men aiming at the christian ministry have never shown themselves to be exceptions to this remark. A good Episcopal lady, many years ago, lamented to me that I was not in her church, because, being tall, and very erect, I would look so well in the robes. There is a consideration yet to be named, which has exerted, I have no doubt, more influence than all the rest. The duties of the ministry in the Episcopal church are comparatively light, and demand but little exertion, and little talent. It is the fashion, in that church, to have far fewer services, than are common with us. For the devotional parts of those services, provision is already made in the prayer book. The sermons are expected always to be short, about half the ordinary length of ours; and as the preaching is esteemed secondary to the reading of the prayers, the great demand is for good reading, rather than for good preaching. It is notorious that men

may sustain themselves reputably in the Episcopal church, with a grade of ability in their discourses, which among us would not be tolerated. They may become doctors of divinity, on an amount of capital that with us would hardly gain them parishes. This is a matter well understood, and I need not enlarge upon it. Who doubts, that many diffident young men, fearful of failure where higher demands would be made upon them, besides many indolent ones, shrinking from much labor, and like many more, of feeble capacity, ambitious of an honorable standing at small cost, and with small means—who doubts, I say, that many such, diffident, indolent, and weak, are drawn into the Episcopal church by a consideration of what I have now stated? There is one Episcopal minister, holding no mean place, in no mean city of our land, who, in a conversation with me, before entering that church from ours, frankly owned that he was going there, mainly for the reason that he feared he never could maintain a respectable standing in our church. He is now a high-churchman of the highest kind. Who doubts, that if the truth were known, he would appear to be one of a very large company? Illustrative of another point to which I have alluded, may be mentioned the case of a young man of rather superior abilities, who entered the Episcopal ministry from our ranks some five years ago, assigning, as his sole reason, to myself and others, the latitude of opinion on doctrinal subjects, which was allowed in that church. It is a fact which may here be mentioned, that young men of undoubted piety have gone from us into the ministry of the Episcopal church, from a simple conviction, that in consequence of the lack of really faithful and evangelical preachers in that communion, they might be more extensively useful there, than they could be in any other connection. I have been credibly informed that this was the case with a certain eminent divine who, to the profound grief of all that knew his worth, died recently in one of our principal cities.

Thus we see, that there are ample ways of accounting for the success of episcopacy among us hitherto, without at all supposing that a rational conviction has prevailed, to any extent, of its peculiar claims; and we see, also, that while human nature remains such as it is, there is little prospect that its success will be rendered, by any cause, less than it has been. Certainly I should never dream of essentially impairing that success by any efforts of mine. The Episcopal church will flourish still, and large numbers will flock to it. I do not apprehend, however, that it will ever become relatively a *large* church in this country. It will hold its own, and make its natural increase of those whose idiosyncrasies peculiarly incline them in that direction. Its form of government, on account of the monarchical feature of it, can never be extensively popular with Americans, and the generally prosaic character of our people, affords a sufficient guarantee that its forms of worship will never be extensively admired. There is also a strong working throughout the length and breadth of our land, of the old Puritanic element, against which prelacy will never be able, on any large scale, to make headway. In addition to all this, Americans are eminently a reading and a thinking people, who will have good reasons before they believe, and episcopacy has no such reasons to give.

Should our land be visited with large and extensive outpourings of the Holy Spirit, there is no doubt the Episcopal church would suffer by it. As compared with her, the strength of other Protestant churches, destitute as they are of whatever appeals to the outward senses and aims to affect the imagination, lies in the power of truth and in their spirituality. Revivals of religion, therefore, must strengthen them where their true strength lies, and weaken her in the same vital point. The truth of this observation is attested by the whole history of revivals. Let our non-prelatical churches remember this, and let them pray and labor, above all, to secure in their midst the presence of their SAVIOUR GOD. *Then shall they "have a*

strong city; and salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks."

In taking leave of Mr. Schuyler, I desire to say, that conformably with my promise at the outset, I have had no purpose in any thing that I have said, to wound his feelings. I have written honestly and earnestly, and sometimes, no doubt, have expressed myself with a degree of sharpness which it would have been better for the success of my own argument, if I had restrained; but I can say, with all truth, that there has been no moment when, in my heart toward him personally, there was any other feeling than that of kindness. Precisely so I feel toward him now, and with the utmost cordiality, *offer him my hand.*

THE END.

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